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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this booklet is twofold: (1) to train students to understand and use the wealth of cultural materials on this American urban neighborhood, Carondelet: and (2) to provide a booklet for the use of students and community members about the historic life of this community. The research was conducted through field methods that include participatnt observation in the community, analysis of historical documents, survey research conducted among a sample of the population, open ended interviews with community leaders, and the tape recording of oral histories with three generations of community residents. Through the use of this variety of research methods, the compilers of this document have put together a picture of the community over time and a record of the ethnic heritage of the people who comprise the community. (Author/RLV)

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carondelet: the ethnic heritage of an urban neighborhood

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NOVEMBER 1975

COVER 200-04 Stems, CARONDELET
measured drawing by Joe Bilello
scale 1"=100'-0"

credit: Charles Parmenter

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french beginnings

The history of the community called Carondelet must begin with the rivers of Mid-America; first barriers, then boundaries, they became the highways of the New World.

For nearly a century the Mississippi was a French river. The British were busy with the growing colonies on the eastern seaboard. France established military outposts outside English jurisdiction and embarked on ambitious programs of discovery and exploration. By 1673 Father Jacques Marquette had ventured to the mouth of the Pekitanoui (Missouri) River. French mission villages, populated by an assortment of priests, soldiers, trappers, and Indians, sprang up along the banks of the Mississippi.

> I find that strollers and vagabonds from Canada, Detroit, Illinois and other places have assembled there to live a lazy kind of Indian life, or have taken shelter there from justice.[1]

The opening of the eighteenth century in the Mississippi Valley brought the first recorded European settlement to the Carondelet locale. This island village was short-lived; even the island, near the confluence of the Mississippi and the River des Peres, has vanished. Little is known about the Jesuit Mission, St. Francis Xavier-River des Peres. The last official record of the settlement was the baptism of Peter Bizaillon on April 13, 1703. Abandoned in 1703, only the stream – River of the Fathers – bears witness to its existence.

A few years after the founding of St. Louis in 1764, Clement Delor de Treget established a homestead in what is now Carondelet. Delor, a native of France who had served in that country's military expeditions in North America, was looking for a place to settle with his family. His first house was probably of vertical logs – the prevalent French-colonial technique. A second, two-story home on the same site (Elwood Street and the Missouri Pacific railroad tracks – Bellerive Park) was built from native limestone rock (demolished 1880's).[2]

The lands known as the Illinois and Upper Louisiana changed hands with astounding frequency. In 1762 France ceded Louisiana by secret treaty to Spain. The following year the Treaty of Paris extended English control westward to the east bank of the Mississippi River; the territory west of the river plus the Isle of Orleans were publicly established as Spanish. Word of the transfer was slow in reaching the settlements, since Spain did not take over at New Orleans until 1769. The Spanish made little effort to affect French customs or law; threat of English invasion was the primary concern. Homesteading became important to the control of the territory, and generous land grants attracted French Catholic settlers from the mission villages of the east bank. Doors and windows accompanied many of the former residents of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, who chose the benign regime of the Spanish over that of the unpopular English. Some of the refugees joined Delor.

In 1771 Delor received a land grant from the captain of Fort de Chartres, St. Ange de Bellerive, which encompassed a village lot 200 feet square and a long narrow strip for farming – the Common Fields.[3] With this grant, the land for the new village, "Delor's Village," was officially separated from the St. Louis Commons. New arrivals received grants of village lots and land in the Common Fields. Two subsequent attempts by private citizens of St. Louis to cultivate land within the area met with spirited opposition and were defeated. (Mme. Chouteau was one of the parties involved; she acquired a grant in the disputed area as early as 1767, but apparently lost her rights because she did not develop the property within the customary limit of a year and a day.)[4]

During the first years of settlement, the village was known by many names; Delor's Village, Louisborough (in honor of King Louis XV of France), and Prairie a Catalan. Some time after Spanish ownership became public knowledge, Delor adroitly labeled the community Carondelet. Baron de Carondelet, then Governor General of Louisiana, took note of the flattery. Delor and his son received appointments as captains under the brief Spanish tenure.[5]

The Spanish made several attempts to measure and structure the land called Upper Louisiana. One of the first was the formal establishment of a road, the King's Trace, meandering south from St. Louis through Carondelet, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and on to New Madrid. (This road has been known as King's Trace, Kings Highway, El Camino Real, and Rue Royal.) Included with the King's Trace order issued by the Spanish Governor was a liberal offer – 1056 arpents of land – to anyone who would establish and operate a ferry across the Meramec River. One Jean Baptiste Gamache accepted the challenge that same year; not unexpectedly, the local Indians were reluctant to pay the fee. M. Gamache retired from the ferry business until things settled down a bit.[6]

In 1799, just a few years before the Louisiana Purchase, the Spanish Crown ordered a census of the population of Upper Louisiana. The results tell the story of a generation of settlement in Carondelet: St. Charles – 875, St. Louis – 925, Carondelet – 184, Ste. Genevieve – 943, Cape Girardeau – 782, and New Madrid – 872.

Carondelet was a stop-on-the-road between the more prosperous and bustling communities. Most of the residents were farmers and woodcutters; a few were independent trappers, but most of the "traitors" or "mountain men" conducted their business through the Laclede-Chouteau operation in St. Louis. Laclede had exploited a brief period of exclusive rights to the fur and Indian trade; his reputation and ability were well known throughout the West. (Henri Chatillon, early trapper, trader, and native of Carondelet, was rescued from obscurity when Francis Parkman chose Chatillon as his guide for the health excursion that resulted in a classic of western life, *The Oregon Trail.* Although Chatillon built a house in Carondelet, part of it was moved and became a corner of the now restored DeMenil mansion in near-southside St. Louis.)[7]

When the Louisiana Purchase transferred the reins of government to the United States, St. Louis contained 180 houses; Carondelet, with a population of about 250 had built 50. The rapid succession of administrations left the land titles granted by the French and Spanish in chaos. Only those claimants who could prove actual settlement and cultivation had their claims quickly confirmed by the United States government. The Spanish land grant of 1796, which gave the Carondelet Commons to the town of Carondelet, was upheld.

St. Louis remained the seat of the territorial government until statehood in 1821, by which time St. Louis County, which included Carondelet, had a population of over 10,000. The town of St. Louis, with a population of over 5000, had permanently out-distanced Edwardsville, Ste. Genevieve, and other rivals in the Mississippi valley Urban Sweepstakes.

The contrast in size was an obvious difference between Carondelet and its neighbor some five miles up-river. A more illusive difference in life styles has been cited by commentators for over 150 years. The Creoles – loosely, French in America – sometimes, French-Spanish mixtures – have been described as free from worry, leisurely, with a penchant for fine clothes and parties lasting through the night. The French of Carondelet, however, were most noted for their poverty. *"Vide Poche"* (empty pocket) became the nickname for Carondelet; *"Pain Court"* (bread short) was the Carondelet response for the inhabitants of St. Louis. Explanations for these descriptions vary. A recent author believed *"Pain Court"* was a comment upon the fairness of the shopkeepers in St. Louis,[8] earlier sources attributed the relative scarcity of grain and bread in St. Louis.

In the days before statehood, St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve were sister intellectual communities, worthy economic competitors, and socially interwoven. There are references to children of St. Louisans born in Ste. Genevieve; guest lists for parties included residents of both towns. The Freemasons established a lodge in Ste. Genevieve (1807-08) several years before a chapter was organized in St. Louis; Pierre Chouteau and Bartholemew Berthold were numbered among prominent St. Louisans with memberships.[9]

Nonetheless, Carondelet and St. Louis exchanged goods and services and occasionally formed political alliances. The Delor family letters contain a letter from Auguste Chouteau to Pierre Delor requesting a meeting to discuss a bill pending in the United States Congress which Chouteau feared would have adverse consequences for the western settlers. Chouteau proposed a meeting after Mass in St. Louis at Chouteau's home and headquarters to attempt a consolidation of opposition and to link the interests of the settlers to that of the Indians.[10]

The observance of religious obligations in early Carondelet was casual. Many of the French priests were more concerned with missionary work among the American Indians. The first religious building in Carondelet, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, was constructed in 1819 – some fifty years after the arrival of Delor. This log church, said to have been constructed partly with materials retrieved from the demolition of the wooden Cathedral in St. Louis, was the inauspicious beginning of a parish for Carondelet and the threshold of the Josephites in the United States.

> . . . Grandfather [told] about when his family came over here from France. Two of his brothers died on the way and were buried at sea. When they got to New Orleans, they didn't have money to come to St. Louis by boat, so they walked. My grandfather was about 13 years old when they came over so he remembered it all well. His father, my great-grandfather, helped with choir and played the organ at the old log church close to the convent. His name? L'ange.[11]

For some years, however, formal religious activities centered in St. Louis and the Illinois bank villages. The people of Carondelet "showed little interest in either religion or education."[12] When three young sisters from comfortable backgrounds in the prosperous French city of Lyons arrived in Carondelet in 1836, they found a small cottage for a convent and a pastor who was financially unable to assist them. "They had hoped to labor among the Indians. Instead they settled among a listless people, not enlightened in their faith and not too much concerned."[13] "Ample opportunities would be given the little community (convent) to practice the spirit of poverty for which the holy patron St. Joseph was their model."[14]

Carondelet was not incorporated as a village until 1832. A loose, communal settlement up until that time, lack of management had allowed only 12 residents to sign a deed transferring 1700 acres of the Commons to the United States Government for the sum of five dollars. In 1826 Jefferson Barracks was established on this site. Later attempts, ending in the U.S. Supreme Court, to recover the land were unsuccessful.

The first governing body of the village was a five-man Board of Trustees set up with John Leitensdorfer as chairman. A town survey conducted that year (1832) extended from the south line of the property now occupied by the St. Louis Althenheim on the north to Upton Street on the south, from the river to Michigan Avenue on the west. The total original Spanish land grant for village, commons, and common fields was immense: Meramec Street to Lindberg Boulevard, the river to Morganford. The historical and persistent question of the boundaries of "Carondelet" will never be resolved to the satisfaction of all. "In 1837 the Trustees employed Joseph Meyer to survey the entire area south of the River des Peres. This extensive area was then divided into large lots and recorded as the 'Carondelet Commons South of River Des Peres'."[15] It is clear, however, that by mid-nineteenth century the term Carondelet did not necessarily refer to land south of the River Des Peres. Other communities had taken root in that fertile soil, planting orchards, vineyards, and gardens. The most interesting, to this study, is the community called Luxemburg.

Some time around 1815 political refugees from the little duchy of Luxemburg began to cluster immediately to the south of Carondelet near the southern banks of the River des Peres. Records belonging to the Missouri Historical Society show a land grant between Carondelet and Jefferson Barracks awarded to Julian Chouquette. Soon thereafter, three brothers Sigerson purchased 1000 acres of land and established a profitable nursery business in Luxemburg and a hog market in St. Louis. (Their large, two-story, stone house stood west of Lemay Ferry Road near Bayless Avenue.) The Sigersons maintained a private cemetery near the site of the Old Henry Zeiss quarry. Some time after 1850 they deeded the cemetery to the newly organized Carondelet Presbyterian Church. (In 1910 the church had the remains of these pioneers, together with the tombstones, moved to the Lutheran Cemetery on Lemay Ferry Road as heavy blasting in the area was damaging the tombstones, which dated before 1850.)[16] After the Civil War the Sigersons fell on hard times and their property was subdivided and sold at public auction.

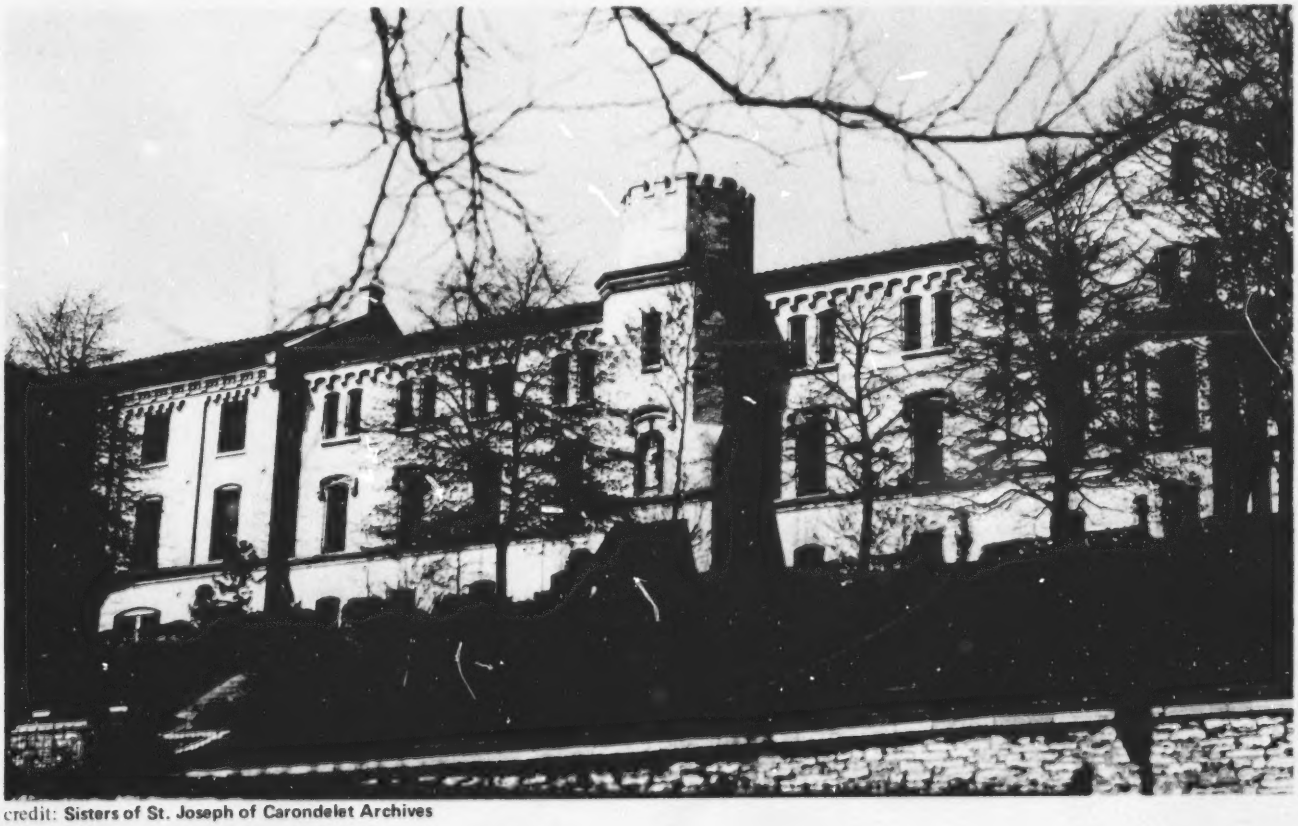
Emmenegger is another family name associated with the early days of Luxemburg. The Emmenegger Dairy, located two blocks west of Lemay Ferry Road near Bayless Avenue, was one of the earliest and largest enterprises of its kind in St. Louis County. The bustling farm-to-market traffic crossed the river on a toll bridge. "An old red bridge with a roof spanning the River Des Peres . . . joined Carondelet and Luxemburg. This occupied the same site as the present bridge and was torn down in 1875."[17]

Mehlville, Mattese, and Oakville were other semi-rural communities to the south of Carondelet. Some of these villages were much closer than St. Louis, whose southern boundary, in 1850, reached only to Arsenal Street. It would seem likely that the town of Carondelet, with a mid-century population of only a little over 1000, felt a far greater kinship with these immediate neighbors than with the city of almost 78,000 to the north.

Gradually, the French flavor of Carondelet diminished. The Creole language became unique and virtually unintelligible to anyone from France. Internal migration brought representatives of other ethnic groups, while the mid-century surge of immigration from Euope rapidly transformed the character of Carondelet.

In 1851 Carondelet was incorporated as a city and divided into three wards. The names of the first City Council revealed the ethnic change in the community: Louis Tesson, Charles Schirmer, Napoleon B. Franklin, Wilson Primm, George F. Eichelberger, and Jacob Stein. The families of the original French settlers spent much of their time and energy in myriad legal problems: land writs, summons, lists of debtors, and notices to delinquent tenants make up the bulk of the documents contained in the Delor family papers.[18]

Today there are still 24 families in the Carondelet area bearing the surnames of early landowners: Menard, Dauphin, Gamache (one of the families who intermarried with the Delors), Roy, Gay, and Poupeney.



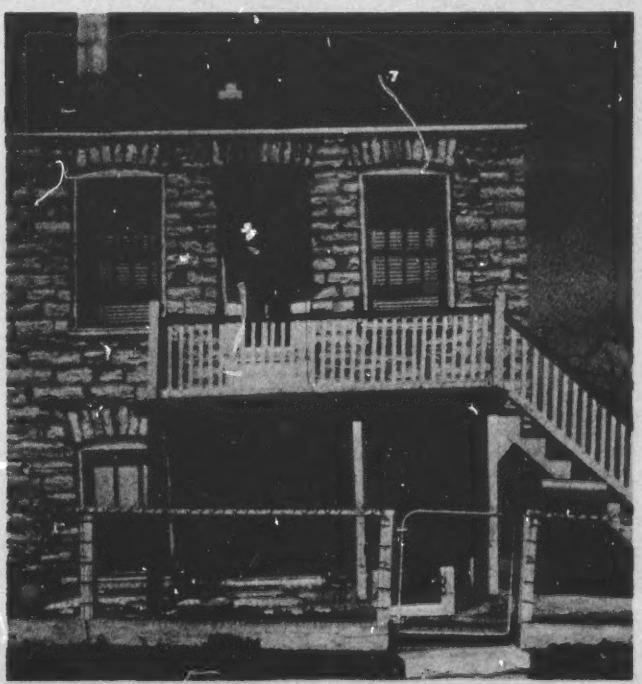
credit: **Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet Archives**

germans and anglo-americans

Much has been written about the purported cultural clash between the new arrivals and the old residents. "These first German immigrants were shocked and unable to understand the relaxed atmosphere at this Creole Village. The industrious German spirit was a direct contrast to the Creole fondness for card playing, horseracing, and dancing, often immediately following the Sunday Mass."[19]

Prior to 1820, the small number of Germans living in or near the town of Carondelet were primarily descendants of Germans who lived in the area of New Orleans, Louisiana. These people were migratory hunters and trappers whose livelihood was dependent upon seasonal conditions. Accustomed to the rugged life of the western frontier, they moved in and out of the Carondelet region with the changing seasons.

Gradually a small but stable German population drifted to Carondelet. Most were farmers and some were second-generation Americans. Among these settlers were the Molders, Stephanis, Conrads, Festors, Etlings, Blumenthals, and Mr. Creuzbauer, a captain in the Baden army.[20] The valuable contemporary accounts of Gustav Heinrichs, who arrived in Carondelet in 1848, called Jacob Stein one of the later German pioneers. Stein, a glazier, built a rock house on the corner of what is now Stein and Reilly.[21] Partly through the efforts of Stein himself, this section soon became known as Stein's Town.



credit: Robert Pettus for Heritage/St. Louis

credit: Robert Pettus for Heritage/St. Louis

credit: Robert Pettus for Heritage/St. Louis

Much present confusion exists as to Stein's promotional activities. Some sources labeled him German Consul; most have him journeying across the ocean to the Fatherland to encourage immigration. Heinrichs' account was perhaps the most accurate. "Stein was the first immigration agent of Carondelet. With the aid of a traveling German society, he was able to induce some of the people from his homeland (Cologne and the lower Rhine country) to settle in Carondelet."[22]

Germany in the mid-nineteenth century was a turbulent collection of independent provinces with serious religious and political problems. Depressed economic conditions, crop failures, and a temporary problem of overpopulation in rural areas increased the attractions of cheap land and political freedom in America. By 1829 glowing reports of the farming opportunities in rural communities close to St. Louis were widely distributed in Germany and several emigrant societies left Germany for the promises of a new utopia in Missouri. Part of the dream was the establishment of a German State in America, a part of the dream quickly abandoned as leaders wrote back to friends and newspapers the following advice: bring money, sever oneself from Europe, do not plan on remaining a German in the United States – one must learn English.

The Germans who traveled from port-of-entries to St. Louis between 1830 and 1848 included professionals, craftsmen, peasants, Roman Catholics, conservative Lutherans, Evangelicals and Freethinkers. They spoke dialects based on region and class and were further separated by a rigid social structure, headed by secular and church landed aristocrats, aggravated by a long tradition of religious and civil wars. These differences and antagonisms would remain with the St. Louis Germans for many years.[23]

German immigrants of this period were not the only refugees in Carondelet. The worst of the many St. Louis cholera epidemics drove hundreds of prominent St. Louisans out of the city. Carondelet, virtually free of the plague, attracted "Anglo-Americans," who made Carondelet their permanent place of residence.

On account of the cholera epidemic, Wilson Primm moved his family down to the village of Carondelet on the morning of May 17, 1849, and installed them in a three-room house on his property . . . the family never again left Carondelet.

From this house, which was then several blocks distant from any other building, a beautiful view of the Mississippi for miles each way could be had. The nearest house was the St. Mary and Joseph's Church, a small brick structure where the parish school now stands. Not far away is the convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph. About four generations have lived together at this old homestead. As the family grew, rooms were added. I know it was a big house, at least ten rooms. (C-3)

The Primm house stood at 6220 Michigan Avenue until the 1970's. Notes for a tour of the 1950's announced, ". . . the old home of Judge Wilson Primm, noted lawyer, musician and historian of early St. Louis. This home was later occupied by his son-in-law, Bernard Poepping, noted bandmaster and composer in the St. Louis of thirty years ago . . . "[24]

Henry T. Blow of St. Louis acquired sixteen acres of land, moved down to Carondelet, and constructed an elaborate family villa. (Demolished – the library rebuilt in Jefferson Memorial, the home of the Missouri Historical Society in Forest Park. The home of Blow's business partner in the manufacture of white lead, Alexander Lyle, remains today in the midst of Carondelet Park. Lyle left Carondelet abruptly at the outset of the Civil War.)[25]

In the 1850's, auctions of building lots were held on pleasant Sunday afternoons, attracting well-to-do visitors from St. Louis. Impressed by Carondelet's beautiful site and reputation as a spot free from disease, St. Louisans acquired many of the lots for summer homes and retreats. The coincidental establishment of drydocks for the repair of steamboats gave the burgeoning town its first big industrial boost. By the early 1850's, the non-Catholic contingent in Carondelet began to establish institutions. Carondelet Presbyterian Church, with Mr. and Mrs. Henry T. Blow among the charter members, was the first Protestant church in town.

At first, German Catholics in Carondelet worshipped at St. Mary and Joseph. Their numbers grew, and an Alsatian priest was appointed to the parish in 1850. "He was especially adept in performing the marriage ceremony and could do this in three languages at the same time, as we ourselves can attest."[26]

A decade later the German Catholics decided to form their own parish and successfully promoted their cause by means of suppers and other social events, attracting German Catholics from established parishes in St. Louis. From the profits of these fund raisers, the congregation was able to purchase land and begin construction of a church, St. Boniface. School was held in various parts of the church building while it was still under construction. The make-shift locations were apparently matched by the quality of the instruction.

In 1861 the new parish priest discharged the teachers and secured the services of an order of German nuns who had settled in Milwaukee. The next order of business was the construction of a school building. To supplement social events and lotteries, the congregation issued shares at $25 each for the School Building Fund of St. Boniface School Congregation.[27]

The 1858 completion of a narrow-gauge railroad from Carondelet to the iron mining district to the south spurred industrial expansion and employment. Main Street (Broadway) attracted merchants from St. Louis and the growing German population of Carondelet. Handsome new brick buildings featured wholesale and retail stores for dry goods, groceries, and liquor on the ground floor and living space above. Banks and pharmacies, livery stables and undertaking establishments, breweries, market houses, lumber yards, and sawmills grew up in the 50's. Before the end of the decade, an omnibus line traveled from Carondelet to St. Louis. Public attention turned to sidewalk and street improvements as life moved at a new, exhilarating pace.

Cultural activities flourished. "A lyceum was founded by a group of knowledge-seeking Americans and Germans . . . where . . . debates often drew the elite of society."[28] A German singing society *(saengerbund)* was organized as early as 1855; a turner hall appeared soon thereafter.[29] *The New Era*, the first documented newspaper in Carondelet, began publication in 1859. (The old cornerstone of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, razed in 1937, yielded fragments of this newspaper. The editor was James M. Loughborough.) The Carondelet city charter was updated that same year; four political wards were established and public schools reformed.

As the Civil War approached, Carondelet was pulled into opposing camps. Nativism set the stage for the drama: "Already at the time of the 1856 presidential election (Fremont vs. Buchanan) the different elements drifted apart, and even though there was no personal friction, the air seemed charged with gloom. With misgivings, although they appeared indifferent, the people felt the approach of the irrepressible conflict." "The election of Lincoln brought about a sharp demarcation of the political parties. The old inhabitants remained dyed-in-the-wool Democrats. In opposition to them under the leadership of several capable Germans the young element formed a strong contingent of the vigorous and unsullied Republican Party."[30] It should, of course, be noted that the above writer, a native German who made his new home in Carondelet until his death in 1874, served as a Union General in the American Civil War.

When war struck, Carondelet split along party lines. "At the head of the Union people stood such men as Henry T. Blow, Dr. Webster, and with one exception, all the Germans." ". . . the leaders of the Democratic party, almost to a man, joined the Confederate Army, and under the leadership of Captain John S. Bowen, a West Pointer, reported as a complete company to General Sterling Price."[31] The war brought dissension, *"le temps du grand misere,"* to Carondelet. It also brought Captain James B. Eads, a large boat yard, foundries, and increased activity at Jefferson Barracks.

Further evidence of strong ties to the southern farming communities of Mehlville and Oakville appeared after the War. Pietistic, Evangelical Germans were without a church home in Carondelet. ("Pietism" is a term associated with a reform inaugurated during the latter part of the seventeenth century. This movement was concerned with the revival and advancement of piety in the Lutheran churches of Germany.) Prior to the Civil War, six Evangelical churches were founded in St. Louis and one, St. John's, in Mehlville. In 1869 the Reverend John Will, pastor of St. John's Evangelical Church of Mehlville, called a meeting at Blow School, where Evangelical residents of Carondelet resolved to build their own church.

Interestingly enough, the congregation organized under the title *Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinde in Sud St. Louis, Missouri* (German Evangelical Congregation of South St. Louis). As incorporation with St. Louis was just around the corner, this association can be regarded as an awareness of the likelihood of incorporation, a symbolic expression of lack of belonging in Carondelet and an identification with ethnicity rather than place.

In 1870 Carondelet, with an empty treasury, became part of the city of St. Louis. "In respect to its early annexation to the central city, Carondelet appears to be somewhat unusual. It is common to find more economic and social ties and less physical separation preceding political union."[32] The chart below indicates the rapid growth rate of both cities:

Carondelet and St. Louis Population: 1850-1870

	Carondelet	St. Louis
1850	1201	77,860
1860	3993	160,773
1870	5387	310,864

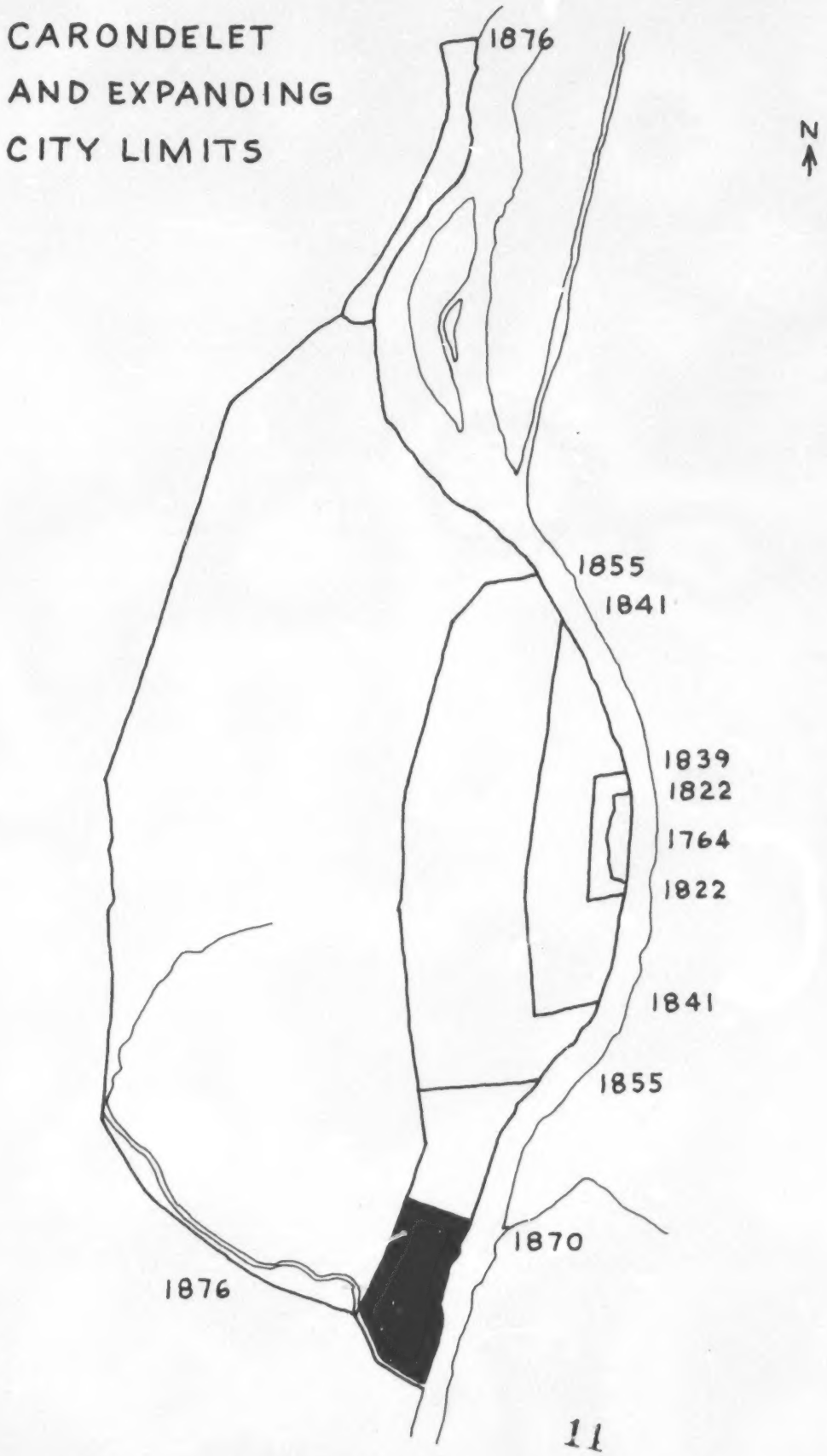
German institutions and celebrations drew the Germans of Carondelet into the larger St. Louis community. Meanwhile, the city's growth rapidly expanded to the south and west. By the turn of the century, little land remained undeveloped from the River des Peres to Market Street in downtown St. Louis.

St. Boniface was always represented at the annual conventions of the Central Vereine, a federation of Catholic benevolent societies, which included festivities as well as religious services and working meetings. Individual turnvereins invited each other to their dances, fests, and field days, and the St. Louis Turner District, of which the Carondelet branch was a member, had an annual field day and picnic. Singing societies also invited each other to social events and joined in concerts.

Religious societies, turnvereins, and saengerbunds were only a part of St. Louis German organizational life. An endless list of vereins met every need and interest. Benevolent associations, provincial societies, fraternal unions, military vereins, cultural societies, and even sharpshooting clubs were common. The German community was noted for its Sunday afternoon picnics and evening fests, at which good German beer and sausages were consumed with gusto. Songs, dances, and turner exhibitions enlivened many events, while small groups could quietly sit, eat, drink, and talk. An active social life was an integral part of every German community.[33]

In Carondelet, neighborhood commercial and social life reflected the large numbers of Germans in the neighborhood.

> *. . . a lot of people around here could understand you. There were a lot of Germans here . . . across the street where we lived a woman had that building, and a daughter, and they had a grocery store. The sauerkraut was in a barrel; the potatoes were in a barrel. It didn't look like a store does today at all.*
>
> *They talked German and they talked English, and the women didn't go in the saloon. When they come and got beer for the meals – a lot of people used to drink beer with their meals – the women would knock on the door and hand the bucket in and turn their heads so they sure wouldn't look on the inside. Then, somebody would take the bucket and give them a nickel's worth of beer. For a nickel you really got a nice little bucket full. For ten cents they got a big bucket full.* (C-2)


CARONDELET
AND EXPANDING
CITY LIMITS
1876
N
1855
1841
1839
1822
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1822
1841
1855
1870
1876

11

City-wide ventures were truly spectacular. At Turner's Day at the World's Fair of 1904, Carondelet turners joined others in a parade of 6600 turners marching nine abreast – including "bears" (men over 35 years of age), young men, and boys dressed in light grey shirts and trousers, and women and girls in dark blue shirtwaists and bloomers, black stockings, and red ties. The afternoon's demonstrations of Indian-club swinging, wand drills, acrobatics, and gymnastics ended with 5,000 turners doing precision calesthenics. Similarly, singing societies, including the Carondelet *Saengerbund*, hosted a national *saengerfest* in 1903. (There were other national *saengerfests* in St. Louis in 1872, 1888, 1934, and 1964). Three days of concerts at the World's Fair Building featured soloists, 200 musicians, a 5000-voice mixed chorus, a 5,000 voice male chorus, and 3,500 St. Louis school children. The whole company joined in the final concert.[34]

Immediately following the Civil War, turners advocated the abolition of the Senate, an executive board responsible to the House of Representatives, the nationalization of railroad and telegraph companies, an eight-hour day, abolition of direct taxation, compulsory free education, and the absolute severance of Church and State. By the turn of the century, however, the *turnvereine* had become conservative social clubs, emphasizing physical fitness and including libraries, barrooms and hall, singing sections, dramatics, and other activities. While Catholics and Lutherans tended to remain aloof, more liberal Protestants freely joined. When the Carondelet *Turnverein* celebrated its silver jubilee on May 13 and 14, 1911, the taint of radical politics had been long lost among the conviviality of good companionship.[35]

World War I ended many German societies and led others to change their names. The Carondelet (Germania) *Turnverein* became the Carondelet Germania Gymnastic Society. Assimilation became expedient.

> *[What about Papa and his mustache?] Papa changed it because they teased him too much. He looked too German, I guess. He said he did it because he nicked himself with the razor, but I still think he did it because at that time they kind of made fun of the Germans; they kind of had it "in" for the Germans. But Papa really wasn't German; he was Swiss.*
>
> *[Did you encourage your children to speak German?] No, no. We thought this was the American language; just talk English.* (C-2)

At the turn of the century, four of the seventeen churches in Carondelet were identified as German: Carondelet (Zion) German Methodist Episcopal – Virginia Avenue, corner of Koeln; German Evangelical – Michigan Avenue, near Koeln; St. Boniface – Michigan Avenue, corner of Schirmer; St. Trinity German Evangelical Lutheran – Vermont near Koeln.

Through the years much of the ethnic identification of these churches has been lost due to name changes, denominational mergers, and a virtual cessation of immigration. The U.S. Census for 1970 listed the tracts encompassing Carondelet with only 3.8 per cent German stock.

blacks

Incomplete records and hazy recollections mentioned very few blacks, free or slave, in the first century of Carondelet. The 1850 census listed twenty-six slaves; perhaps an equal number of freemen worked as farmers, servants, or draymen. There was no residential concentration, no "black community." Carondelet began its history as a small, pre-industrial village with a reputation for wood gathering and subsistence farming – an economy not conducive to slaveholding. While some of their countrymen grew rich from the plantations of the French West Indies and the South of the United States, most of the Creoles of Carondelet developed a very different life style.

The Civil War industries along the Mississippi employed hundreds of workmen. Some of those workmen, spending their free time and money in Carondelet, were free Blacks and runaways who found Carondelet a promising place to settle. Their reception was not entirely enthusiastic. A look at the history of Black education in Carondelet and Missouri offers documentation of this fact.

Formal education for Blacks in antebellum Missouri was rare. An act of the state legislature specifically forbidding black and mulatto education was in effect from 1846 to 1865. Nonetheless, clandestine schools, held in private homes, church basements, or even steamboats, spasmodically operated in defiance of the law. (Carondelet was without a public education system for whites until 1848. For some years this system was considered decidedly inferior to the educational opportunities offered by the Sisters of St. Joseph. In Carondelet, as in the City of St. Louis, free public education was surrounded by the onus of "charity." The elite gave support to the concept but sent few children into the system for some years after its inception.)

The one well-documented school for black children in Carondelet before repeal of the state act was part of a national movement: the American Missionary Association. Organized in 1846, the association was a Christian abolitionist response to the silence of many Northern churches on the issue of slavery. At first the association concentrated on appeals through missionaries in border states. Up to the eve of the Civil War, missionaries in Missouri met with little outright hostility. Some churches closed their doors to the message, but the missionaries used pamphlets, newspaper columns, and revival meetings to spread the word. When war broke out, the A.M.A. re-directed its energies from converting slaveholders to educating former slaves. "The A.M.A. proved the most important of many education associations spawned by emancipation."[36]

Their first attempt to start a freeman's school in Carondelet lasted only nine weeks. The A.M.A. teacher was left without lodging when the family who boarded her moved out of town. In letters sent to A.M.A. headquarters, she claimed that white opposition to black education was so great that she could not

secure another boarding place.[37] Another A.M.A. teacher soon reopened the school. Finding no whites who would board her, Alma Baker secured lodging with a black family; her bill of sixteen dollars a month was paid with funds collected by other Blacks in the neighborhood.

Miss Baker did not have an easy time in Carondelet. She was appalled at her exclusion from white society and distressed by her assessment of its lack of religious convictions. To make matters worse, she found black religion more emotion than substance.[38]

The teachers sent by the A.M.A. had a special burden: saving souls was part of teaching reading. Sin and superstition were to be exorcised. Without doubt, this stance was perceived by many as "holier-than-thou." "Though whites seldom talked with her, she sometimes dropped 'a word of warning,' hoping that God would 'trouble them' until some repented."[39] Not easily daunted, Miss Baker decided to approach the wife of Henry Blow for assistance. According to letters of Miss Baker's, the interview began badly. "Mrs. Blow informed the teacher that she had lowered herself by living with a black family, that talk of equality was nonsense, and that trying to elevate blacks was useless since it could not be done."[40]

Eventually an agreement was reached whereby Mrs. Blow agreed to give verbal support to the school. Financial support remained with the dedicated black community of Carondelet. The Blacks paid the rent on the school building, which also served as the Methodist church, and continued to pay Miss Baker's board. The value of education was well understood by black parents, who managed to collect a school fund of over $100 before fall classes began in 1865. Pride and self-reliance were responsible for this community achievement, a symbol of emerging identity. Suggestions from Miss Baker to enlist white financial support were turned aside. "They had been niggers long enough!" Miss Baker was told. "We now want to be men."[41]

Soon after the War, the responsibility for black education in Missouri passed to the Blacks themselves, the state, and other benevolent societies. The A.M.A. continued partial support of several outstate schools, including Lincoln University, but left the St. Louis area for states to the south. After incorporation in 1871, black education in Carondelet became part of the expanded St. Louis system requiring separate, free schools for every district over fifteen pupils. Colored School #6, built in 1873 at a cost of $9800 on land donated by William Blow, replaced a temporary building housing sixty pupils and one teacher.[42] The new brick two-story building had a capacity of 240 grade school students in four rooms.

As part of the City of St. Louis, Carondelet became directly involved in the morass of polemics and politics of the larger society. The issue was not integration; only a handful of radical spokesmen, black and white, entertained a notion so contrary to tradition. Theoretical acceptance of "separate but equal" requirements was difficult; practical application almost nonexistent. As illustrated in the recent book by Selwyn K. Troen, *The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920*, Blacks as a group were particularly dependent on the public system. "The St. Louis schools, which were generally eager to overcome divisions of class and nationality, were singularly hesitant and compromising in confronting the problem of race."[43] The *Missouri Republican* of November 11, 1878, stated a widely held point of view: "We have never tried to assimilate with the Indians; we should never try to amalgamate with the Africans. It is altogether different with European nations, especially those of German origin."[44]

Many of the successful petitions and requests by the black leadership furthered the racial segregation of the public schools. The 1878 request of the Colored Education Association to name the "colored" schools, then labeled only by numbers, after leaders of the black race was not obliged until 1890. (Colored School #6 was named for Martin R. Delany, a black surgeon of the Civil War.) Less symbolic was the 1874 attempt, repeated in 1877, to replace the white teachers in black schools with Blacks. Black teachers, it was felt, would stimulate black participation by drawing heavier enrollments, and providing better qualifications than the caliber of white teachers willing to teach in "colored" schools. (The economic opportunities of approximately seventy such teaching positions did not go unnoticed.) Black teachers were first employed in the school year 1877-78. The results were startling. Although black population in the city remained constant, enrollment in public school soared: 1877-78—35 per cent increase, 1878-79—20 per cent increase, 1879-80, another increase of 27 per cent.[45]

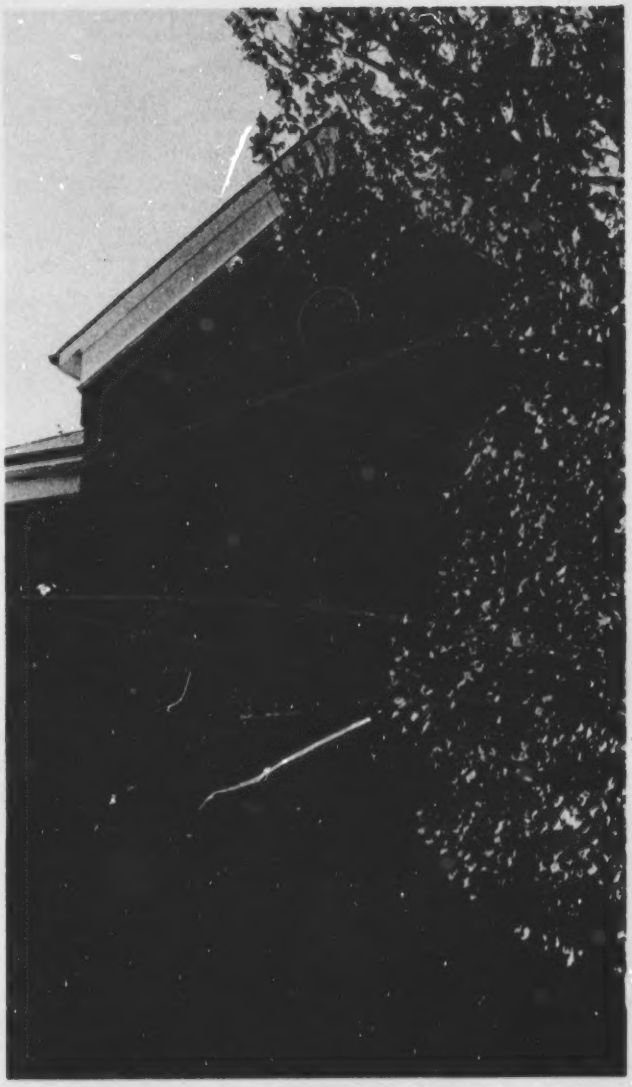
A further look at statistics compiled in the appendix of the 1878-79 report of the St. Louis Board of Education one year after the introduction of black teachers reveals solid information about the black community of Carondelet. Only grades 1-5 were taught at #6. Five full-time teachers were employed for an enrollment totalling 234 pupils—111 girls, 123 boys. A substantial number of students did not attend for the full year; 165 were in attendance at the close of the fourth quarter. (These figures are paralleled by the enrollment patterns at the white public schools in Carondelet. Tardiness was a matter of great concern to the Board of Education, and temporary suspensions for this lack of discipline were common in both the white and black schools.) The cost per child at #6 was $13.92, at Blow, $21.58. Place of birth for black pupils revealed a preponderance of second-generation St. Louisans: St. Louis 181, out-state Missouri 28, South 14, West 4, other foreign 2, unknown 5. The black parents with school-age children in Carondelet were all of the working class: laborers - 107, farmers and gardeners - 51, draymen and teamsters - 34, landressses - 27, seamstresses - 5, miscellaneous - 10.

Susan blow and the kindergarten

Des Peres School at Michigan and Iron: built in 1873, it was the site of the first public school kindergarten in St. Louis and the first such experiment of any size in the United States. Today the warehouse of Cook's supermarket, the building symbolizes the actualization of educational reform espoused in the 1830's by Swiss educator Friedrich Froebel. His ideas, transported to other countries in Western Europe, were brought to the United States by German immigrants.[46] Private play schools were established in St. Louis and other U.S. cities before the pivotal combination of Susan Blow of Carondelet and William T. Harris, Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools.

Harris' interest in kindergartens began soon after he assumed the position of superintendent in the late 1860's. Overcrowding in many of the working class areas, plus roving bands of street children, posed a serious problem to the city. Harris initiated a thorough survey to assess conditions in the schools, and discovered that many children from underprivileged areas (slums) remained in school less than three years.[47] Harris began speculating about a solution to this problem in 1870; by 1873 he had teamed with Susan Blow. "That Room No. 4 of the Des Peres School be devoted for the present year to the purpose of ascertaining, by a faithful experiment, what valuable features the kindergarten may have, that can be utilized in our primary schools; and, for this purpose, that Miss Mary A. Timberlake be assigned to this room, with the rank of first assistant; and that Miss Susie E. Blow, having proferred her services gratuitously, the same be accepted, and the school be placed under her control and supervision."

Susan Blow, a young woman of exceptional background and education, traveled in Europe and visited with proponents of Froebels' methods in the eastern part of the United States before assuming her responsibilities in St. Louis. Her own words, from unpublished lectures delivered before the volunteer corps of young ladies who formed the backbone of the kindergarten movement in St. Louis, revealed the scope of expectations. Mid-Victorian in time, the concepts presupposed religious-moral regeneration as well as pedagogical reform.



credit: **Angela Walsh**

14

It is a fact full of deep meaning that the obscure thought or feeling recognizes itself in a definite and exact reflection. We need a mirror, not of what we are, but of what we already dimly see ourselves to be. This is the reason that the child's life grows clearer to him through the life of birds and animals than through the human life around him. He is drawn closer to his mother by watching the cat with her kittens, or the mother-bird with her young, than he is by seeing other children with their mothers. It is no idle curiosity which bids him peer into the bird's nest, and watch so intently while the mother bird feeds her young, or covers them with her sheltering wings. He is fascinated, because thus his own life is made objective to him; his own relationships are shown to him in symbol.

As has been already repeatedly stated, Froebel's life and thought were ruled by the idea of organic unity. That all-pervading law of organisms by which they progress from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, and realize the highest unity through the extreme of variety, was ever present to his mind, and his ideal consequently was the complete development of the individual man for the sake of all men. Therefore, he aimed through self-activity to develop powers, through love to consecrate them to service, through service to lift them into consciousness. To know himself, man must feel and know all his relationships; and he learns the sweetness and solemnity of his life only by realizing its connections with nature, with man, and with God. (Susan Blow)

Harris, on the other hand, while in obvious sympathy with much of the philosophy, had to contend with the practical applications and benefits.

We do not look so much to the gain in intellectual possessions as to the training of the will into correct habits during the years previous to the seventh. After his third year the child becomes social, and hungers for companionship. In the school he can secure this with less danger to him than on the street. Such careful training in habits of regularity, punctuality, industry, cleanliness, self-control, and politeness as are given in the ordinary primary-school, and still more efficiently in the well-conducted kindergarten, are of priceless benefit to the community. They lessen the number of rough, ungovernable youths, whose excesses are the menace of the peace of society. (William Harris)

From the outset, the major responsibility for the staffing of the kindergartens was assumed to be the mission of a small, elite group of young ladies. Young women of good education and fine moral standing could serve in this capacity in those somewhat unfortunate years before marriage.

I have thought that the benefit derived by the 200 young women of the St. Louis kindergartens from the lectures of Miss Blow to be of sufficient value to compensate the city for the cost of the kindergartens. A nobler and more enlightened womanhood will result, and the family will prove a better nurture for the child. (William Harris)

Froebel innovations included much play-acting of adult roles, using songs and stories.

The first stage of this educational process is realized through the songs for mother and child; the second, through the kindergarten games, the simpler occupations, the third, through the exercises with blocks, tablets, slats, sticks and rings, and the work in drawing, folding, cutting, peas-work, and modeling; and the fourth, through the wise appeal of the kindergartener to the thought of the child, as she leads him slowly from the what to the how, and from the how to the why and wherefore of his own action. (Susan Blow)

The "Froebel blocks," a cube divided into eight smaller parts, opened possibilities of experience in form and geometry. Frank Lloyd Wright credited his early exposure to Froebel techniques with much of his subsequent independence in the field of Architecture. Wright, of course, was equally noted for his defiance of prevailing cultural norms. (One, of course, should be most hesitant in ascribing those activities to Froebel's blocks.) Nonetheless, Harris was cognizant of the inherent dangers in opening little minds:

The children of the poor, at the susceptible age of five years, get many lessons on the street that tend to corrupt them. The children of the rich, meeting to wholesome restraint, become self-willed and self-indulgent. The kindergarten may save both classes, and make rational self-control take the place of unrestrained, depraved impulse.

But the kindergarten itself has dangers. The cultivation of self-activity may be excessive, and lead to pertness and conceit. The pupil may get to be irreverent and overbearing—hardened against receiving instruction from others. In fact, with a teacher whose discernment is dimmed by too much sentimental theory, there is great danger that the weeds of selfishness will thrive faster among the children than the wholesome plants of self-knowledge and self-control.

This belief in the perfection of nature is the arch-heresy of education.

As regards imagination and inventive power, it is easily stimulated to an abnormal degree. For, if it is accompanied by conceit, there is a corresponding injury done to the child's faith and reverence . . .. (William Harris)

The kindergarten has been an established part of the St. Louis public school system for over one hundred years. At a time when financial constraints are threatening to return the curriculum to a modern version of "bare-bones" efficacy, it is helpful to look back to the inspiration of the founders. Des Peres school has significance beyond the Carondelet community. Recycling as an alternative school for today's problems would seem a particularly appropriate use.

(All quotations in this section were extracted from the 1878-79 Annual Report of the St. Louis Public Schools.)

No occupations were listed in the following categories: agents, artists, boardinghouse and hotelkeepers, boatmen, butchers, clerks, confectioners, manufacturers, mechanics, merchants, professionals, public officials, saloon keepers. Thus, though separated by law in education and custom in religion (with the exception of St. Mary and Joseph), the Blacks of Carondelet remained part of the larger society. Scattered throughout the neighborhoods, they did not form a parallel community of institutions, goods, and services except where required by external pressure.

In 1878, less than a generation had passed since the Civil War brought the beginning of a large influx of Blacks to Carondelet. Many of the new arrivals came to find employment in the booming industrial expansion along the river; others came north to join friends and family, some were mustered out of the military at Jefferson Barracks.

> *My grandmother, like I say, she was born here. But my grandfather was born in Savannah, Georgia, and he came up with the Union Army. He fought in the Union Army in the Civil War. He was mustered out at Jefferson Barracks in '65 or '66.* (C-8)

The U.S. Census of 1870 showed the black population of Carondelet at 345. Ten years later the number had risen to 450. The growth of the black community continued until it reached a peak of 1063 in 1920. These were the years of rapid upward mobility and substantial achievement. Fortunately, they are years still within living memory and recollection by residents.

As the economy of Carondelet expanded, more occupations opened to Blacks. In the period from 1880-1905, United States Snagboats, a company located at the foot of Elwood Street, was a large employer of black men who cleared the navigational channels of the Mississippi of flotsam and debris which posed hazards to packets and steamers on the river. The river boats provided jobs as cooks, maids, porters, mechanics, deckhands, and firemen. Chaufferring and the drayage business (until tight unions) employed many Blacks as teamsters working for businesses as diverse as small groceries in Carondelet to the *St. Louis Globe*, the *St. Louis Star-Democrat*, and local and downtown hotels.

> I have a vivid recollection of the Old Carondelet Hotel. I played as a boy around the old buildings. My mother was employed as a cook there so left to amuse myself, I explored every nook . . . I thought that the hotel was the tallest building in Carondelet. I played many times in the loft or attic and would peer out at the maze of telegraph poles. I would listen to the cooing of pigeons. Could watch steamboats on the river. There was a melody on Broadway – wagons, horse hoofs, clang, clang of the trolleys. The hotel was in the midst of a thriving business community.[48]

The bewildering assortment of transportation companies in Carondelet and St. Louis provided other job opportunities. Gradually, a few black-owned restaurants and groceries appeared in the 6700 and 6400 block of Broadway; a dance hall and lounge located nearby. Places of residence continued to be well-dispersed throughout the community. A 1905 mailing list from the Corinthian Baptist Church contained addresses on Broadway, Water Street, Pennsylvania, Vulcan, Poepping, Minnesota, Colorado, Kansas (Holly Hills), Primm, Iron, and Louisiana Streets.[49]

Mention has already been made of the temporary church school established with the assistance of the American Missionary Association in the mid-1860's. A publication of 1966 includes a picture of St. John's Methodist (1869), a modest brick structure on land donated by Henry Blow, as the "First Negro Church in Carondelet,"[50] although recollections place a small Baptist church in the vicinity of the River des Peres in what is now St. Louis County as early as 1850-60. St. John's Methodist burned the same year it was built. In the next decade Corinthian Baptist and Quinn Chapel organized in Carondelet. (Reportedly, dissidents from St. John's left to form a new parish, and that group formed the nucleus of Quinn Chapel, African Methodist Episcopal.[51])

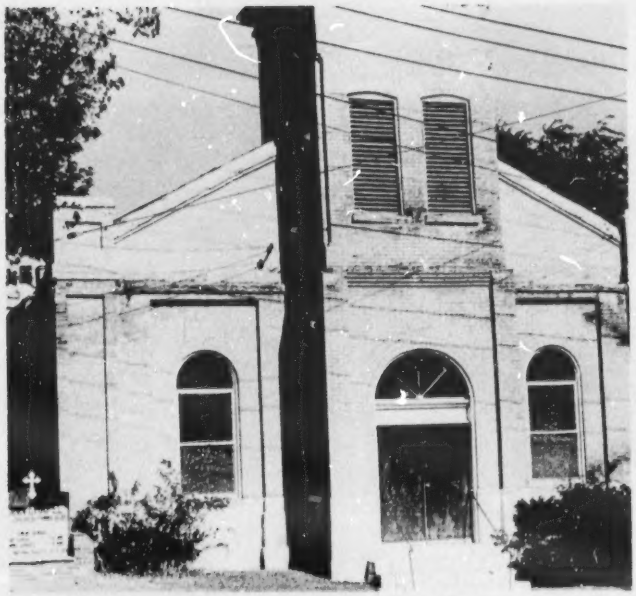
The building which became the home of the Carondelet Branch of the A.M.E. had been destined for use as a market under a contract let by the city of Carondelet in 1869. (Rumors persist that Carondelet took this action in the expectation that annexation with the city of St. Louis would release Carondelet from the expenses involved. The building at Minnesota and Bowen was one of three such structures envisioned; another example – South Market Square – still stands at the intersection of Broadway and Schirmer.) In 1880 the City of St. Louis sold the market on Bowen Street to the Carondelet A.M.E. church for the sum of $600.

Dedicated two years later to the first black Methodist bishop, William Paul Quinn, the congregation has remained in this building for over ninety-three consecutive years. According to the present pastor of Quinn Chapel, Quinn did a substantial amount of preaching in Missouri and "opened up the West to African evangelism."[52]

The 1899 gift of a church bell (reportedly donated by a junk dealer who paid $50), with the inscription "A. Fulton of Pittsburgh, Pa., 1847," once graced a steamboat. A new entrance tower was added to the chapel to accommodate the gift. In 1908 the congregation added a parsonage. These debts were paid in full.

The church was a vital part of the lives of the early congregation – a place for solace and faith among friends. It was also one of the first social agencies for Blacks in Carondelet, serving as a meeting place for ice cream socials, fish fries, lectures and songfests, lodges and clubs.

> *Well the Blacks, when I was a boy, most of the social life stemmed from the church and there were a couple fraternal organizations. There was one for the men called – they were the affiliate – the United Brothers of Friendship. And then the women were called the Sisters of the Mysterious Ten. Up at Blumenthal's Hall they had their dances and cake walks and they had their fish fries and what-not.* (C-7)



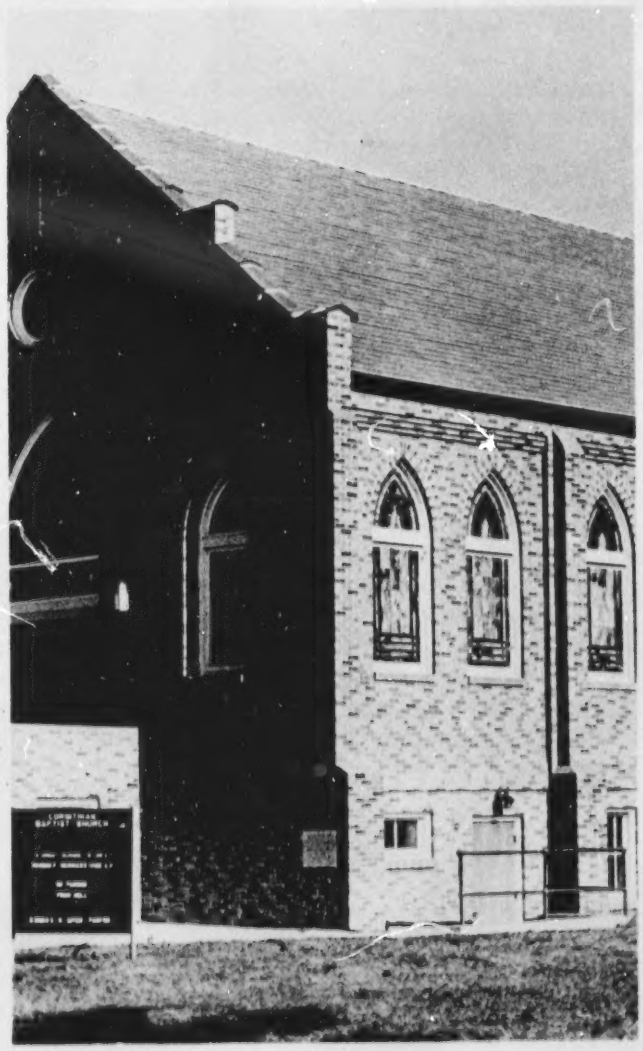
credit: **Angela Walsh**

Membership in Quinn Chapel has declined from a peak of 150 to around 50 in 1975. (This corresponds with the decline of the population in Carondelet as a whole and the black community in particular; 1910-1063, 1920-788, and in 1970-345.) Interest outside Carondelet in this historic black church should help to encourage its preservation and continued use. Placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1974, Quinn is eligible for federal monies for renovation. In addition, the congregation is establishing the Quinn Chapel Historical Society to help keep a tradition of over 100 years alive in Carondelet.

Corinthian Baptist, the larger of the two predominantly black churches of Carondelet, shares with Quinn Chapel a history of over a century in Carondelet. In the 1880's, the Reverend George West started church services in the vacant Carondelet city jail on Broadway near Bowen. Within a short time the congregation moved to facilities on East Krauss Street and named the new church the Second Baptist Church. Around 1890 a split developed in the congregation and one faction broke away, forming St. Luke's Baptist Church. Second Baptist followers moved to yet another location at Pennsylvania and Robert. In 1895 a lot was purchased on Stein; St. Luke's and Second Baptist resolved their difficulties and merged to form Corinthian Baptist. Corinthian remained at that location until 1950, when a new, larger church was completed on Colorado Street. Presently, the congregation numbers approximately 350. Many of the members are former residents of Carondelet now living in north St. Louis, Jennings, and Ferguson, who drive many miles to attend services and participate in social activities.

Corinthian has a lot of young parents. It's a young church; you can just see it. They've got members living all over north St. Louis . . . yet they have a good attendance. (C-7)

Corinthian, a member of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, takes an active part in civic affairs. Members serve on the Carondelet Betterment Federation and the YMCA, and support the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Meals on Wheels programs. The church presents a wide range of activities and benefits for young people, adults, and senior citizens. The church choir is well known, especially for its spirited and skillful renditions of gospel music. The Corinthian choir opened the program at the recent Ethnic Heritage Colloquium held at the Carondelet Branch of the St. Louis Public Library.



credit: **Angela Walsh**

As the black community grew in numbers, it began to sort itself out on the basis of social class.

You see, the community was kind of divided in this way. It was a community up on the river, and, somehow or another, that's where a lot of them [settled] when they came from the South; they lived up there and it was a kind of Shanty Town. And that is where you might say, like Catfish Row and Porgy and Bess, were the good-timers, the "sporting" element of people, and the drinking class. They lived around Broadway up there. Where, you see, from Minnesota west and that, there was a different class of people. Some of them belonged to the same church, but they did frown on some of the things. I knew a woman who had a fit because her daughter married a man from down on the river. See? Well, those were supposed to be the uncouth and that. But not all of them, because there were a lot of them down there . . . came from a good family down there. But that's where there was a kind of a separation. (C-7)

Second- and third-generation Blacks in Carondelet often stayed in school longer than their white contemporaries. As unions organized, jobs for Blacks decreased.

The only thing which, labor unions, labor unions kept Blacks from doing a lot of jobs. Now, when I was a boy there were so many black teamsters; but when they became unionized–the teamsters union–why they eliminated a lot of Blacks. There's a laundry down there; they have a black driver. These groceries down here had black delivery boys, delivery men, you see. And I never will forget, they were building the Regal Theater on Easton Avenue and they had black bricklayers–building it with black capital–and the white bricklayers was picketing because they were non-union. At the same time, they wouldn't permit them to join the unions so the president of the letter carriers down here, he carried me, and I was telling him the injustice of these white bricklayers that wouldn't permit them to belong to their unions and at the same time was picketing and trying to keep them from earning a living. They were skilled men.

I'll just say, for instance, I had to go to Sumner High School. I had to pass Central High School. I had to pass I don't know how many schools to go way out to 2500 north and 4300 west to go to high school. At that time, when the boys got in seventh or eighth grade they had to quit school. They thought I was foolish, because they were quitting school. But the reason is, when a boy reached fourth or fifth grade of the whites, he could get a job at a tobacco factory or a shoe factory or Eider Manufacturing Co. Something like that. We were stymied. We couldn't get those things. (C-7)

Until 1927, Sumner High School in the Ville was the only high school in the city of St. Louis for Blacks. There, young Blacks from all over the city met, studied, and often remained friends for life.

The majority of children that went to high school when I was going lived west of Jefferson Avenue and a lot of them had good backgrounds. And, of course, they didn't tolerate any foolishness there. You couldn't dress any way you wanted to because, see, there was a "sporting" element in St. Louis among the Blacks that used to wear like these big hats now–they'd wear Stetson hats and box-back coats and that. When you would see one of those fellows, you knew what he represented. He didn't represent nothing. He represented good-timers and underworld. Well, I hear the principal of the school say, "If any of you come here with a box-back coat or Stetson or max suit, you won't graduate." Well, that's how strict they were. The school was graded high. (C-7)

With improved education came entrance into the professions and white-collar work. Civil service offered one opportunity, the field of education another. Blacks from Carondelet gained positions in city government, medicine, and law. Many of them left Carondelet and St. Louis for better employment elsewhere.

credit: **Community Development Agency Collection**

Various sources mentioned the elimination of the black community along the riverfront.

> *And another reason they got off from there, like I told you, in '26, well this furnace that a lot of them came up here to work at, this furnace claimed they wanted that land and they were all squatters. They, you see, they bought this land from the school board. After that they told the people, "We're going to charge you $1 a month– you know, rent to be on the land. Well, the people thought, "That's cheap, only $1 a month, we don't care," and they paid it. And the minute you paid it, you was a tenant– the next month you got a notice to move! You see, that was the thing. But one guy, he didn't accept it and he stayed down there for the very last. That's the way they got them all off of there. But there were lots and lots of people living down there.* (C-8)

More Blacks left Carondelet during the Depression; many of them were homeowners. Some residential streets experienced a rapid change-over from owner occupied to rental.[53] Close social networks and "neighborliness" became less common.

> *Years ago you knew people – I knew people from ten blocks around. I could go up Minnesota up to Compton and tell you almost the names of the people, their occupations. And people were friendly because they met at the corner grocery store and they shared each other's joys and sorrows. But today a person can live across the street and you don't know the names of those people. Years ago, I knew them. You knew the neighbors, but now you don't know these people.* (C-7)

The home remained the center of the older black social structure. Music and dances outside Carondelet drew many young blacks into the greater St. Louis community. The Carondelet boys' clubs organized in this period were predominantly white.

The Depression brought economic crisis for institutions and individuals. In 1939 the public schools presented the results of a survey initiated to deal with the crisis and plan for the future. Delany, the only black school in south St. Louis, was scheduled for closure. No southside black schools were proposed; existing buildings to be kept, as well as all new construction, were to be located in the central and near-north core of heavy black concentration. Until desegration in 1954, the black children of Carondelet were bussed to other black schools or taught in portable classrooms.[54]

According to the 1970 U.S. Census, black population in Carondelet accounted for only 2.4 per cent of the population: 341 out of a total 14,440. The breakdown by wards was as follows:

1014	1015	1016	1017
227	4	38	72
5.5%	0.1%	2.8%	1.6%

The black population for the city of St. Louis stood at 41 per cent for the same year; for the country at large the figure was approximately 11 per cent. Perhaps the longevity of the black population, plus the relatively few numbers of Blacks have contributed to a feeling shared by many residents that Carondelet is a place without racial tension.

> *They want to know their heritage in Carondelet. And I think that's going to make them more sensitive and aware of what's going on in the neighborhood . . . The atmosphere was one of tolerance here. What I mean is, I've never seen any race hatred . . . as long as I've lived in Carondelet, I've never seen no violence or any hatred.* (C-7)

credit: Charles Parmenter

20

irish

Industrialization brought another ethnic group, the Irish, to Carondelet. In November, 1870, Kingsland Iron Company merged with the Vulcan Corporation and built a new plant. The four-million-dollar structure, completed in 1872, was Carondelet's largest industry, employing about 500 workers and producing a thousand iron rails a week.

The July, 1874, *Scribner's Magazine* described Vulcan Iron and its employees:

> Descending toward the water side from the street you find every available space crowded with mammoth iron and zinc furnaces, with immense uncouth structures of iron, wood and glass, in which half-naked men, their bodies smeared with perspiration and coal dust, are wheeling about glazing masses of metal, or guiding the pliant iron bars through rollers and moulds or cooling their heated faces and arms with buckets of water brought up fresh from the stream. Here, in a zinc furnace, half a dozen Irishmen wrestle with long puddling rods which they thrust into the seventy times seven heated furnaces; the green and yellowish flames from the metal are reflected on their pale and withered features, and give them an almost unearthly expression . . . The little Riviere des Peres empties into the Mississippi, close beside the Vulcan Iron Works; its banks are piled high with coal and refuse. The fathers would know it no more. They would stare aghast at the great thousand hose pumps; and the regiment of Irish laborers.

The need for a railway link between St. Louis and Kansas City spurred the expansion of the industry and transformed Vulcan Iron into an iron and steel works. Its coal and coke furnaces, which used the Bessemer process, were the largest in the city and became the Middle West's largest producer of steel rails. By 1882 the furnaces consumed 100,000 tons of pig iron annually, to make 90,000 tons of steel rails. At its peak, the plant employed twelve hundred men, many of whom settled with their families in Carondelet.

Irishmen were hardly new to Carondelet. St. Louisan John Mullanphy was an early speculator in Carondelet lands; P. F. McLoughlin was its first registrar (from 1837 to 1842); and James B. Walsh was the town's first mayor (in 1852). St. Louis and other Missouri towns with a strong Catholic tradition were likely spots for settlement during the worst years of the anti-Catholic, "Know-Nothing" mania.

> *I heard that the Irish side of the family came through New Orleans because they were deathly afraid to go through Boston and New York.* (C-12)

While these men came as individuals, large numbers of Irishmen arrived after 1870 to work at Vulcan, along the docks, and for the Missouri Pacific Railroad. By 1873, the *Westliche Post* estimated that half of Carondelet's population was evenly divided between the Germans and the Irish.[55]

Irish laborers settled in an area known as "the Patch," bounded by Davis on the north, Catalon on the south, the Mississippi on the east, and Broadway on the west. Social workers in the mid-twentieth century dubbed the area "Kelly Patch," probably because it contained so many Kelly families. The Kellys were often known by two names, such as Kelly-Bell (the mother's maiden name) or Kelly-Tailor (the father's occupation). Whatever it was called, the Patch acquired a reputation as a rough place. In the late nineteenth century, fifteen Irish saloons dotted the neighborhood, fights were not uncommon, and policemen refused to walk the Patch alone.[56]

The large Irish immigration to Carondelet prompted Archbishop Peter Kenrick to establish St. Columbkille's Church in 1872. After a few services in temporary locations, half a city block (bounded by Michigan, Davis, and Hurck streets) was purchased for the new parish. Construction began in 1872. The rectory was built on the corner of Michigan; a brick building housing both the church and school was placed in the middle of the block. An addition to the school in the 90's completed the physical plant. The first pastor, the Reverend Michael O'Reilly, succeeded in "welding these rough iron molders together in a harmonious organization of Catholics," and the future looked bright for the new parish.[57]

With the completion of the railroad connection between St. Louis and Kansas City, the Vulcan Iron and Steel Works went out of business. The phenomenal success of Vulcan was a response to one local market necessity. The ore from Iron Mountain was not the quality of that in the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, region, and Vulcan could not compete on a national scale. By 1899, what had been the primary industry of Carondelet was an empty shell. Irish population in Carondelet declined. The census of 1890 failed to mention Irishmen, calling the inhabitants of Ward 13, which included Carondelet, "principally laborers, mainly being German." The percentage of Irish among the foreign born in Ward 12 declined from 9.5 per cent to slightly less than 5 per cent between 1910 and 1920. By 1930, Carondelet had only 62 first- and 520 second-generation Irish out of a total population of 19,664.

The Irish did not abandon Carondelet. For a time, "the Patch," remained largely, if not exclusively, Irish. The area also still attracted some skilled Irish labor. One life-time resident of the Patch recalled that his mother's family settled in the area around the turn of the century because his uncles could walk to the Broadway Station and take the Missouri Pacific Railroad to the Carondelet Foundry on South Kingshighway.[58] Also, Carondelet had many boarding houses which attracted Irishmen and others who worked along the river. However, the Irish population never again rivalled that of the German in Carondelet.

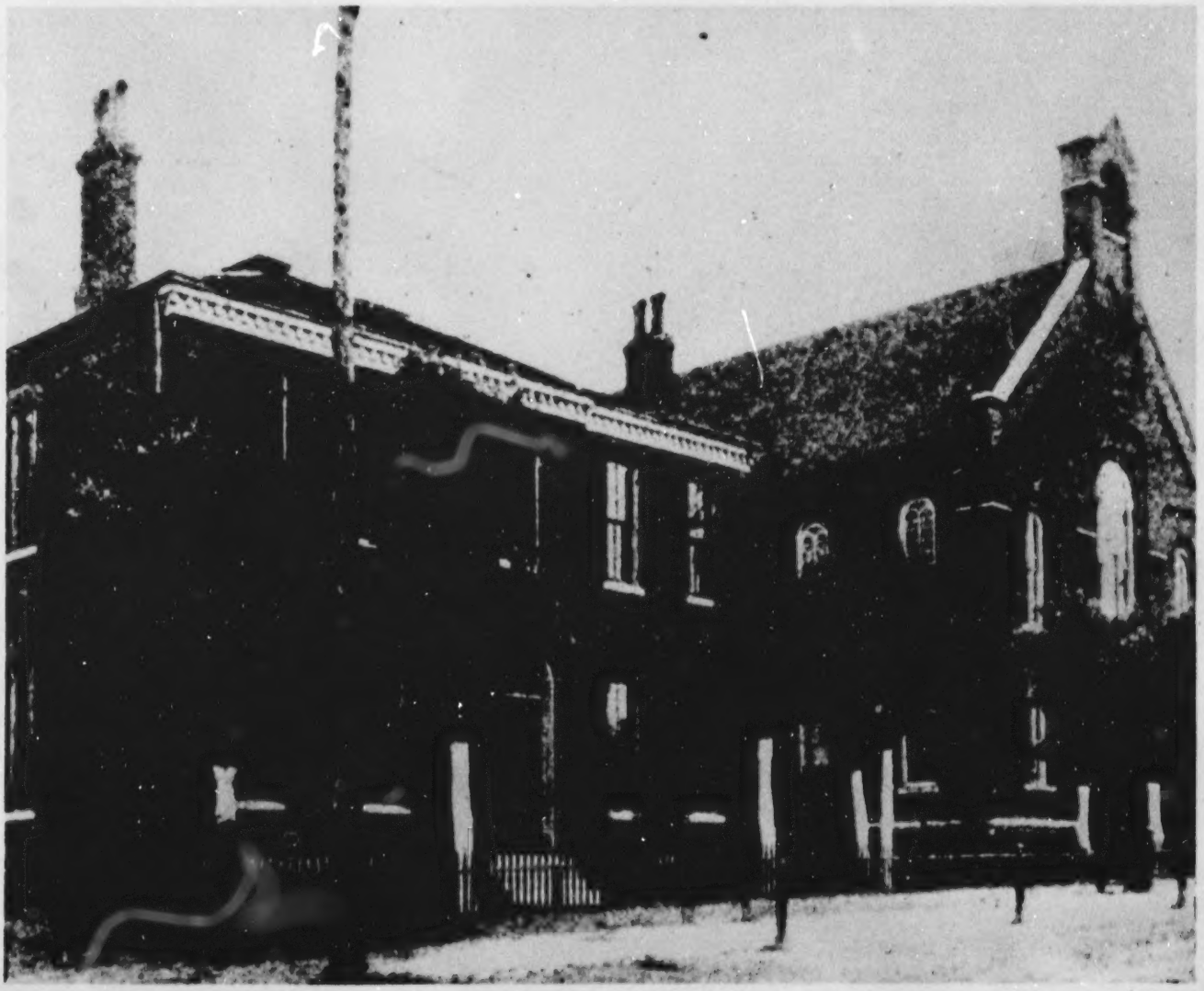
St. Columbkille's reflected the decline in Irish population. The church remained on the second floor of the school building, making it difficult for funeral processions and older parishioners to climb the steep, narrow stairway.

> *A little square church; first floor was classrooms, second floor was the church. And I was pallbearer a dozen times and you'd nearly get killed. You'd have to stand the casket on end to get it up these stairs going up; you'd almost get a rib broken. You wouldn't dare carry that casket on your side because it would jam you there. You'd stand it on end and walk up the stairs.* (C-12)

The school, on the first floor, originally had only three classrooms, with two or three grades per room. A small hall was partitioned into classrooms, while the addition included another classroom which held fifty or sixty students and a kitchen and dining room for the nuns. The first grade was excused half an hour early at lunch time because their teacher traditionally cooked the sisters' dinner. Being kept in and forced to eat lunch with the sisters was the most dreaded punishment in the school.

The sisters had limited contact with "the Patch" outside of school hours.

> *They were active around the churches, but see, we didn't live there. We lived down at the mother house at Carondelet. We didn't get to see much of the family or things like that . . . Not living there, you couldn't tell what they did afterwards. You just went there in the morning to school, and then the horse and buggy would be there and we'd go back to Carondelet . . . They were interested in their children getting an education. All of them. They'd call you up down at the mother house every once in a while, and of course they had their reports and everything. Father used to reward them who got a good report card. That helps a great deal.* (C-14)



credit: **Archdiocese of St. Louis Collection**

"The Patch" was perceived as a separate area with a location and an identity of its own. Reflections about schooldays at St. Columbkille's bring this back:

> *The Germans went to St. Boniface. There was a dividing line. In fact, there used to be a little bit of rivalry between them. But that, too, subsided.* (C-13)
>
> *Once, though, we had to change our time in dismissing, because St. Boniface, the German School, would let out and the kids would get fighting once in a while.* (C-12)
>
> *They played baseball . . . and these mothers would get down there with their umbrellas, or what have you, and if the umbrellas were up, the next thing you knew the umbrellas were down, and they were using the umbrellas because they didn't like the call of the umpire or maybe somebody on the other side would say something wrong, and this would be kind of a squabble. It was kind of scary, but, when you're younger, it's kind of fun.* (C-13)

Through the early twentieth century, the school enrolled 140 to 150 students with as few as 8 in the graduating class. In 1950, the Archdiocese warned St. Columbkille's that the building was inadequate, in violation of safety codes, and would have to be closed down. The school doors shut in 1952. Enrollment in 1951 was 140. Within months, the Church closed and the parish of St. Columbkille's vanished before the wreckers.

Catholicism was an integral part of Irish-American identity, and the parish played an important role in Irish life. Although it was small, St. Columbkille's fulfilled its role as the center of Irish life in Carondelet. The role of the parish and the importance of the church were illustrated in St. Patrick's Day parades, which brought St. Columbkille's into contact with the larger Irish parishes on St. Louis' North side and Central Westend.

Spectacular St. Patrick's Day parades, which included as many as 25,000 marchers and an equal number of observers, began in the second half of the nineteenth century. Sponsored by the Catholic Parade Union, composed of the pastors of the city's largest English-speaking parishes, the parades served a variety of purposes: reminding politicians of their constituency, publicly countering the recurrent waves of nativism, and impressing the German-controlled Catholic hierarchy with Irish solidarity and "Americanism." As paraders marched past the reviewing stand, upon which sat the Archbishop and city officials, they were divided according to parishes. Only a few organizations, such as the Knights of St. Patrick, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the Daughters of Erin marched separately. Occasionally, Italian, Polish, and Bohemian organizations joined the festivities. Carriages, and later automobiles, were decked in green bunting and shamrocks; floats often portrayed Irish themes. The parades were discontinued in 1907 because of internal dissension within the Parade Union.

Parishes such as St. Columbkille's were neighborhood social centers. They had many organizations, ranging from religious sodalities and altar societies to fraternal and benevolent societies, dramatic clubs, and sewing circles. Whatever their orientation, all organizations gave musical and literary entertainments, dances, excursions, plays, and picnics, which provided much of "the Patch's" social life.

> *I think all the Irish Catholics belonged pretty much together . . . the Knights of Columbus and the Knights of Father Matthew and the Daughters of Isabel. They got together quite often; they'd have ministrel shows. I can remember, when I was a kid, every Saturday night they'd have a minstrel show somewhere. Everybody could sing; everybody could dance.* (C-12)

One of the most interesting organizations at St. Columbkille's was a branch of the Knights of Father Matthew. It was part of the Irish total abstinence movement founded by Father Theobold Matthew and brought to America by immigrants. The movement was first organized in St. Louis by the Reverend John Higginbothem, pastor of St. John's Catholic Church. In 1881 the semi-military Father Matthew's Young Men's Total Abstinence Society merged with the Knights of Father Matthew, keeping the latter's name. By the early twentieth century, the Knights, with a membership of 6,000, were the largest organization in the national Catholic Total Abstinence Union.

By 1904 the Knights had 25 councils in St. Louis and branches in Kansas City, Chicago, Des Moines, and small towns in Kansas, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa. A Supreme Council governed the organization, while the St. Louis Officers' Association co-ordinated city-wide membership and social events. The boys' division enroiled young men from 12 to 16 years of age. The Ladies' Auxiliary, founded in 1902, was disbanded in 1915 when the Knights and Ladies of Father Matthew allowed women into full membership because "only mothers can deliver their sons at the age of 12 and warn their daughters to shun men who indulge in alcoholic beverages."[59] While some Germans belonged to the Knights, there were no branches in German-speaking Catholic parishes.

The Knights were more than a temperance organization. They were a benevolent and fraternal society which offered cheap insurance at reduced rates during membership drives. Every Knights' council, including St. Columbkille's, had its own social season of smokers, dances, and picnics. The Officers' Association gave an annual communion breakfast, picnic, and field day. The Uniformed Rank, an independent, self-sufficient equestrian organization composed of Knights' members, paraded on special occasions and sponsored an annual ball, railroad excursion, and Memorial Day service at Calvary Cemetery on the north side and Sts. Peter and Paul on the south. Elite members of the Knights also formed the Irish-American Society, which gave an elaborate, nonalcoholic banquet at one of the city's finest hotels on St. Patrick's Day.[60]

Although they attended St. Columbkille's, the twentieth century Irish met the other people of Carondelet in many ways. They worked together and often played together. The Irish saloon persisted, with Joe Eagan's place on Broadway and Marceau an important neighborhood meeting place. There were also other saloons in the vicinity, and the Irish "liked to spread their business

everywhere." Manion's Park, which included an amusement park, dance floor, restaurant, and swimming pool, was a favorite summer meeting place. Swimming in the river was also popular, but the best beaches were on the east side of the river

> *. . . there wasn't a kid I knew that couldn't swim. They all learned to swim 4-5 years old in this river here. Could swim across it when they were 10 or 12. There wasn't a one of them that couldn't throw rocks and there wasn't a one of them that couldn't hop freight trains and hop ice wagons. The biggest thing in those days was ice wagons. These ice men would deliver 50 pounds, 100 pounds, to all these people here and all the kids would get on there and slide off a cake of ice. You never went out of your own neighborhood. If you did, you had about a dozen bricks in your pocket and you went on the other side of the street.* (C-12)

For five cents swimmers could ride the Davis Street Ferry across the river. The Ferry also did a lively Sunday business, carrying its load of six to eight automobiles and many passengers to Illinois taverns and to lotto and bingo games.

Young men and boys played ball on vacant lots or baseball fields. Boys' Town at Eighth and Allen and St. Boniface's gym provided facilities for basketball. The Knights of Columbus sponsored the Squires Club, which scheduled sporting events and gave a few dances. Similarly, the YMCA on Michigan and Loughborough sponsored clubs for young men. Most of the Irish priests grew up with soccer in the old country, continued to play in the seminary, and were strong supporters of soccer in Carondelet. Many clubs, however, were self-formed, with members contributing small amounts weekly toward the purchase of athletic equipment. In spite of organized activity, there was also just a lot of "bumming around."

> *We had a number of businesses . . . I don't know how many shoe stores and dime stores and hat shops and dry goods stores and bakery shops and grocery stores and what have you. And the people were wall to wall people on Friday and Saturday night; this was like going down to the local tavern or the local pub. You could go down there and it was like having a party. You could meet this one and that one and you'd sit at the corner and talk and it was, as far as I'm concerned, probably like an old-fashioned town. Now, maybe other people didn't get this out of it, but this is what I got out of it. Because we'd take a walk and this was our idea of entertainment. In other words, it was free and it was fun.* (C-13)

Gradually "the Patch" became less "Irish" and more associated with poverty. The proximity to industry, the possibility and promise of industrial expansion, plus the age and condition of much of the housing in "the Patch" created a combination of factors indicating a nonresidential future for the area. City services decreased and the Patch became "blighted."

Today, plans call for an industrial park from east of Broadway to the Mississippi, Holly Hills to the River des Peres. Though population in the section dropped more than 25 per cent in the decade from 1960-1970, the residents remaining have a high rate of home ownership.[61] The Patch Neighborhood Development Association is attempting to work with residents and assist in social services. The dilemma is serious; the stretch along the river contains a unique assortment of buildings from the 1830's-1860's. This fact is not easily discerned, as many of the structures are now slipcovered with imitation siding. A building-by-building survey will soon be conducted by Heritage/St. Louis to properly identify and document the architectural and historical significance of the area. Only then can a knowledgeable discussion of alternatives for the future take place.

Other ethnic groups, not studied for this report, have shared the land along the river. The Poles and Italians, who formed distinct communities in the early 20th century, left descendants with vivid recollections of the past and a deep concern for the future. As owners of residential and commercial property, they are encouraged by the City's recent decision to improve the streets. Alderman "Red" Villa has expressed interest in further research and documentation in order to begin work with the Community Development Agency on a neighborhood plan.

spanish

On New Year's Eve a fiesta takes place at 7107 Michigan Avenue –the continuance of the celebration of "la vispera del Ano Nuevo," which began in Carondelet in 1908 with the formation of the Spanish Benevolent Society. A settlement in Carondelet, concentrated in an area running from the 6900 to the 7300 block between South Broadway and Minnesota Avenue, was called Spanish Town as early as 1915. Although much of the residential community has spread to other parts of South St. Louis and the County, many of the original settlers and their descendants still live in Carondelet near the Spanish Society Center on Michigan Avenue.

The first Spanish-born people who settled in what would become the Carondelet Spanish colony were attracted to the area by the presence of the Edgar Zinc Company, located between Blow and Robert Streets on the Missouri Pacific Railroad tracks. Most of these first arrivals were men who had immigrated from the Asturias region of Spain to the zinc mines and smelters of West Virginia and Kansas. Carondelet was not their first home in the United States. Others were signed up by agents in Spain before embarkation.

"Because very few brought their families, boarding houses were the accepted housing for many Spanish men. The boarding houses were owned by Angel Garcia, Atanasio Fernandez, Francisco Rodriguez, and Ramon Quevedo in 1904. In some instances, twenty-five men lived in one house."[62]

Garcia, Fernandez, and Rodriguez were listed in the 1905 *Goulds St. Louis Directory*. Ramon Quevedo was not. The directory lists Nicente and Joseph and Rica Rodriguez at 7209-1/2 South Broadway. In the occupational listings, only one of these men is entered as a smelterer; the others are listed as laborers.

Atanasio Fernandez and Angel Garcia were among the first men to bring their families to Carondelet. In the following oral history a resident of the Spanish community recalls the early years.

> *I came here in May, 1907. I didn't come alone; I came with my family to join our father, who was already here. Many families came because of the Edgar Zinc factory. Another reason a lot of people left Spain was because of compulsory military conscription; you had to serve the King for three years. A lot of parents, who were sick and tired of seeing their kids grow up and then get shot by the Moors left the country. They wouldn't mind having their children serve the country, but the government sent them to Spanish Africa-Morocco. Many of these kids got killed without even shooting a gun because those Moors were such good fighters.* (C-15)

The concentration of the Spanish people near the Edgar Zinc Works was discussed in a paper prepared by Dan Rodriguez, who interviewed his father and many members of the Spanish community:

> *The explanation for living so close to each other was, first, that being foreigners they felt a discrimination by landlords who were not too willing to rent to them and, secondly, that with little knowledge of the English language, they depended on a limited few who could interpret. Probably the main reason was the Edgar Zinc Company, where ninety per cent of the men worked only a few blocks away. It was just east of Broadway, and the men could walk to and from work. This saved the men carfare and, with their meager earnings, these few pennies could buy another loaf of bread.*[63]

> *A saloon on South Broadway was opened by Celestino Garcia, a son of Angel Garcia. In 1906 Dominco and Dubois opened a grocery store which was taken over by Bernabe Alvarez. Alvarez had been living in Iola, Kansas, prior to the Spanish-American War in 1898. He became a great benefactor to his people in Carondelet, and aided many Spanish families financially until he gave up his business in 1956. He was also instrumental in bringing complete families to St. Louis.*[64]

Life in the Spanish community in this early period is recalled by the daughter of an early settler:

> *My father was working at the zinc smelter. So, when we arrived here in September of 1915, he had already rented the house for us which was in the 7300 block of South Broadway and where I remained and lived until 1925. His brother had also gotten him a job at the smelter. When I was a child I went to Lyon School, and at that time there were five different nationalities living in the same block. There were English, Irish, Germans, Spanish, and Jewish. We would all walk at the same time to school in the morning, home for lunch, back to school, and back home again. After that the boys and the girls played every afternoon in the alley between Broadway and Pennsylvania. There were no garages in those days. You didn't have to be afraid to be in the alley . . . some would start working because money was needed at home. In those days they had to have a permit and they went to continuation school until they were sixteen years old. The employer arranged that the children went to continuation school for one-half day per week. As the Spanish people could not speak English when they arrived here in Carondelet, there was no church or priest to look after them. So the first mission exclusively for the Spanish people was founded in the Archdiocese in 1912 at St. Columbkille's parish. Because of space limitations, the Mission was moved within the year, and St. Boniface became the Spanish Mission.* (C-9)

In 1915 Our Lady of Covadonga was built at 7100 Virginia Avenue for the Spanish congregation. The Reverend Joseph Picojuvar, a Mexican priest, was invited to lead the parish. The simple church served the Spanish community until 1920, when it was closed. The Rosati Council 795 of the Knights of Columbus purchased the church building in 1921 and allowed the Spanish Mission, under the direction of Miss Arienne Edy, to hold confession on Saturday and services on Sunday in the building. The Reverend Harder was the first pastor of this Mission. (Although it was not a parish church, 191 first communions, 43 weddings, and 193 christenings were held in the Mission between 1921 and 1932, when Cardinal Glennon decided that the Spanish community no longer required Spanish-language services and the Mission was closed. Today St. Mary and Joseph's and St. Boniface churches serve the Spanish residents).

A teacher at the elementary schools in Carondelet, Miss Edy took particular interest in the Spanish children. Prudencia Garcia and Anthony Alvarez were among the young boys whom she coached in English at her home after school. Her work for the Spanish mission was voluntary. It was said that the nine o'clock Mass which was held every Sunday at the Mission did not begin until Miss Edy was satisfied that everyone she expected was present. She was also instrumental in the organization of clubs for Spanish girls: the Regina Club, the Manresa Club, and the St. Agnes Club met at the Carondelet Library to plan social activities. To honor her work for the Spanish people, a Christmas party was held every year from 1954 until her death in 1966.[65]

credit: **Spanish Society Collection**

Could you tell me something about your childhood in Carondelet?

I learned English in the Blow Public School. That's another thing that surprised me. All the schools in Spain are Catholic schools. Here I was sent to the school which was the closest–Blow School. I didn't realize that it was a non-Catholic school because I didn't have the opportunity to go to school in Spain from the age of 5, 6, and 7 because all that while my mother was waiting for my father to send the money to come to the States. So my first schooling in a school was Blow School. They put me in the first grade and it was something. We came in May and school started in September. When it was lunchtime, the teacher would put two fingers up to indicate the minute and hour hands for noon, and then she would point to my head and point to the wardrobe room for me to go get my hat and to go home and eat. The teacher went through all of that.

Later on I was the one acting as an interpreter; I took the children to school with their parents. Sometimes parents tried to get their kids out of school early 'cause the kids had to help support the family. Sometimes the husband only made $1.25 a day, with seven or eight people to feed . . . A lot of people came here to the United States thinking the streets were filled with honey. (C-15)

Other than the Edgar Zinc Company, where else did the Spanish men work?

The men couldn't work anywhere else but the zinc companies because they didn't have any trades. They were common laborers. We were actually peasants. In Spain your mother and father had a little shack and a plot of ground in a little town. One of the main reasons the Spaniards worked in the zinc factories is because their fellow workers were of the same nationality. You found the Spaniards wherever there was a zinc furnace. They knew the job. They knew what they were doing. (C-15)

When did you start work?

I graduated from Blow School when I was 14 years old. As soon as I got a working permit at the Board of Education, I got my first job in a factory. It was at the Balsam Box Company at Thirty-Ninth and Balsam, there alongside Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company. I worked there from the time I was 14 until I was 16 years old. The rate of pay for us kids that were not sixteen yet was ten cents an hour. We started work at 7:30, I think it was,–half an hour for lunch and at 4:30 we were out. We worked eight hours a day and five days a week. I made $4.00 a week. When I got my check in an envelope, I gave it to my father without even opening the envelope.

Was this common among the Spanish for the children to give their paychecks to the parents?

It was common. There is something inbred in the Spanish children that no son or daughter should walk out on their parents. There was a feeling, too, among the old-timers that they didn't want their children to marry outside of their nationality. (C-15)

The size of the early Spanish community is difficult to establish. Two hundred men, many of whom were Spanish, were employed yearly by the Edgar Zinc Company between 1905 and 1921, when the company moved to Fairmont, Illinois. Yet, there are no Spanish people listed in the wards including Carondelet (11th and 12th) in the United States Census of 1910. Four hundred and three residents are categorized as from "other foreign countries"—too few in numbers to list individually. In Wards 11 and 12, which encompassed much of south St. Louis, the German immigration was dominant, with almost 5000 foreign-born Germans included in a population of approximately 50,000. Accurate statistics will have to wait until the manuscript census for 1910 is available for examination.

City directories give some information on the location of Spanish people. In the 1918 directory there were twenty families with Spanish surnames in the blocks between 6900 and 7300 South Broadway; scattered families with Spanish surnames lived on Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The Spanish church, Our Lady of Covadonga, at 7100 Virginia, was within the boundaries of this concentration.

The International Institute of St. Louis gave encouragement and assistance in the formation of groups to provide social activities for the Spanish community. The International Institute, originally connected to the YMCA, helped immigrants to adjust to American urban life, offering English-language classes, social services, and sponsorship for ethnic organizations.

The 1920 report of the Executive Committee of the International Institute described two Spanish clubs for girls, which held meetings at the Carondelet branch of the Public Library, and a club for young men:

> *A group of young men in the colony have rented an older corner store to use as a dance hall. They are disgusted because they could not dance the fandango in the American dance hall across the street. Executive Secretary attended on Saturday night and reported that they used a violin, drum and accordion. The young men offered the girls club their hall for meetings. The girls desire a piano and are planning to give a play to raise funds for one.*[66]

The later minutes stated that the Institute lent the girls' club the funds for the piano. Another indication of the growth of the Spanish colony was the employment of Mrs. Garcia Luge, a Spanish-speaking social worker at the International Institute.

The Spanish girls' club, the Victoria Club, reported in June, 1922, that they were planning to make maline hats and to have a picnic in Forest Park. A further note on the Victoria Club stated:

> *The Victoria Club is interested in knitting and crocheting scarves, tamoshanters and sweaters. As Spanish girls marry very young, the club is rapidly losing members.*[67]

Some of the older residents of Carondelet made other observations about the marriages of Spaniards.

> *There was a Spanish tavern downstairs . . . and all the Spanish men used to hang out there, and my father used to say, "If you marry a Spanish fellow or an Italian fellow, you're going to spend your evenings at home. Just take a look down the block!* (C-13)

Nevertheless, intermarriage between the Spanish and other members of the St. Louis community became more and more common, and newcomers were often welcomed to the Spanish fold "as if they were blood brothers."[68]

In 1927 the Spanish Society was officially organized (see Feature). Although the society expanded its activities to include many charitable and social activities, one of the driving forces behind the initial organization was the desire of the men "to form an athletic group to promote the national sport of Spain."

> *Soccer just seems to be it. [The Spanish] played their soccer . . . and they're great in soccer, you know. If you're accepted in the sports world, you get accepted in other parts.* (C-2)

The first soccer team in the Spanish community, carrying the name Asturias for their home region, was organized in 1907. Games were played at Mannion's Field, 8600 South Broadway. When the Municipal Soccer League was formed, the Spanish team entered and won the division title in 1914 and again in 1931.

> *I didn't like the Spaniards when I was a kid. They played soccer too well! We had our soccer teams up in St. Mary's and they had their teams there. Out in Carondelet Park on Sunday, there would be ten, fifteen thousand people. There's a natural athletic theatre there . . . that was a big thing in the 20's and 30's.* (C-12)

Later on, with the coming of the American born Spaniards and the prosperity of this country, the younger generation started to flourish. They followed their predecessors' footsteps on the athletic fields. Its most famous off-shoot was the Spanish-American Youth Club which captured the City Softball Title in 1947, 1949 and 1954 to retire the Three Time Winner, A. G. Edwards Trophy.[69]

Support of the baseball and soccer teams for boys from seven to fifteen years continued to be a major activity for the Spanish Society. Members of the Society attributed the low juvenile delinquency among Spanish boys to their involvement in sports and strong family ties.

The most renowned promoter of athletics in the Spanish Community of Carondelet is Prudencio "Pete" Garcia, who came to Carondelet with his family in 1907. After his retirement from the soccer team in 1931, Pete became a referee for the Municipal League. The United States Football Association chose him to

participate as an official in the North American elimination soccer games in Mexico City in 1949. In 1950 he referred the World Soccer Games in Rio de Janeiro. Honors continued as he was chosen to officiate in Mexico City at the Olympics of Central America and the Caribbean in 1954.

Although no other soccer players from Carondelet have enjoyed international recognition, the names Benito Fernandez, Joe Rodriguez, and the brothers Joe and Henry Diaz and a non-Spaniard –Bill Kiel–who played with the Spanish team, evoke memories of exciting games for sports fans.

Despite the move of the Edgar Zinc Works, the Spanish community persisted. In order to map community mobility, the surnames of three of the original settlers–Diaz, Garcia, and Fernandez–were chosen to follow movement in the Broadway-to-Michigan area from 1918 to 1950. We found a high concentration of these Spanish surnames on South Broadway, Pennsylvania, and Minnesota in 1918. The year after the 1937 opening of the Spanish Society building at 7107 Michigan Avenue, the concentration had shifted. Only two Spanish surnames were listed on South Broadway; instead, the family names appeared more frequently on Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Virginia.[70]

In 1930 the census tract which encompassed the area considered "Spanish Town" in Carondelet–IG (1017 today)–listed 275 people born in Spain or first generation Spanish-Americans. In addition, there were 282 residents of Spanish-born or mixed parentage. In 1940, of the 247 people who were Spanish foreign-born in Carondelet, all but 38 lived in the original area of Spanish settlement. Immigration from Spain was not separately designated in 1950, 1960, or 1970 because so few people from Spain migrated to the Carondelet area during these years.

credit: Spanish Society Collection

Spanish society

"To the Spanish Americans of Carondelet the Spanish Society has been more than an organization . . . it was and is a way of life.[71]

A benevolent society and an Instruction and Recreation Society created under the auspices of the YMCA were the seeds for the official organization of the Spanish Society in 1927. Prudencio Garcia and Benito Fernandez, fellow soccer players who wanted their children to learn the traditions of Spain and the national game, were among the forty charter members. Juan Rodriguez was the first president. The original constitution of the Spanish Society set forth the purposes of the group: "to give members proper instruction, legal recreation and all benefits within our reach as well as those which may be obtained through the growth of the Society."

Ten years after the founding of the Society, members purchased the present building, which was formally dedicated by Mayor Dickman in 1937. With the purchase of the new home, *Las Colaboradoras* (the Ladies Auxiliary) was formed. Their original tasks included money raising for the maintenance of the house and the support of the athletic teams.

Spanish Society activities are based in the old world traditions. At fiestas and picnics, men drink from pigskins filled with wine. The annual *llave* tournament, a game like horseshoes, and *tute* and *brisca* card games still enliven the Society center.

The desire of the Spanish residents to provide clubs for all ages is exemplified by the Spanish-American Girls Society, which is open to women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five.

Membership in the Spanish Society has changed in terms of residence and age in the last forty years. Of the forty charter members, thirty are still involved with the Society. Total membership neared 200 before World War II; during the 1940's Society membership reached 379. Following World War II, new employment opportunities and the marriage of many younger members of the community outside of the Spanish colony resulted in a residential dispersion. In 1975, there were 190 dues-paying members. Today the new president, Albert Garcia, whose father was a charter member of the Society, points to transportation, the variety of recreation, and residential spread as reasons for a loss of interest. He is anxious to create programs which will renew the members' commitment.

The Spanish Society remains open seven days a week in the afternoons and evenings. It is not necessary to be Spanish to be a member, and many members of the Society are not of Spanish ancestry. Yet for the older Spanish residents, the unique meaning of the Society center, decorated with pictures and trophies from the soccer stars of the twenties and thirties, is suggested in this statement by Joseph Fernandez:

[It is home] for many retired members. They have their own television set, Spanish-American newspapers, cards for those who care to play, breathing space for those who just want to talk to their friends. I've watched them for years . . . We are not a people who place emphasis on youth, only to abandon the old.[72]

credit: **Spanish Society Collection**

transition

While Prohibition closed the Turner Hall at 7127 Virginia, "do-it-yourself" operations were common.

> *They never raided you for making home-brew. It was only when you were selling whiskey that they'd get you. Everybody made root beer, everybody made ginger ale, four or five kinds of soda for the women, and the beer. You'd be sleeping there at night and all of a sudden you'd think there was an artillery battle. All these bottles would explode, quite often.* (C-12)

Development in the 1920's of the Holly Hills section offered new, quality construction for some of the more affluent residents of Carondelet. "Influential and prominent people were immediately attracted to the area, which offered a beautiful park background of greenery with city living."[73] Planned as a unit, Holly Hills became an exclusive enclave–visually and psychologically apart from the hodge-podge of the rest of Carondelet.

> *Prior to that, prior to the time Holly Hills was developed, that actually was a part of Carondelet. The common fields of Carondelet probably extend all the way out to Morganford Road . . .* (C-3)

Meanwhile, the industrial base of the community had been seriously undercut by the reduction of the inland shipbuilding industry and the discovery of large iron deposits in the Great Lakes area. One by one, the furnaces and plants closed down. Many workers and management moved to other cities, where steel- and iron-related industries were in full operation. Others moved to the County. Residential properties became vacant, values tumbled.

> *You had your junk man. He used to go through with a horse, and he would be hollering for old rags and old junk and whatever you'd buy from him. The kids don't have that now; none of that stuff goes on that to me was fun. Just like the police used to close off the streets for us when we wanted to roller skate and ice skate. Even as a kid we used to have the corner grocery store and the corner confectionery. And the corner tavern. The bank down the street from us. Then they started going out into the subdivisions. Which, personally I detest. I do. Because if I want to be isolated I go out in the country to be isolated. I don't need to go to a subdivision to be isolated.* (C-13)

The Carondelet Improvement Association was active in this period of readjustment. (The Association was an outgrowth of emergency relief given workers during the depression and panic of 1877. The sponsors of that effort formed the Carondelet Business Men's Association in 1908; ten years later, a merger with the South End Improvement Association created the Carondelet Improvement Association.) Some new industries were attracted to Carondelet. Great Lakes Carbon established a metallurgical coke plant; two steel casting companies and Phelan-Faust Paint Company arrived between 1910 and 1930. In 1933 the Civil War site, where ironclad gunboats were built, was purchased by St. Louis Ship-Federal Barge, Inc.

Improved transportation facilitated not only scattered employment but also increased downtown shopping. The local shops along Broadway began to close. Second-hand stores and street-side rummage sales appeared.

> *We lived in the neighborhood. All the different races. We had the Jewish people, the Black people, the Germans, the Germans, the Irish, the Spanish. We even had gypsies. . . We lived behind or above the business at all times on South Broadway . . .At that time, when I was a child, all the wealthy Jews that are out in University City and all that now, lived right with their business. They don't now. And that is why the neighborhood is deteriorating. People that live with their businesses, as a rule, keep up the neighborhood.* (C-13)

Ethnic institutions began to be replaced by city-wide agencies: The Carondelet branch of the public library, the YMCA (1919), YWCA (1926), and the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. Queen and Thomas, writing in 1953, described Carondelet as "a partially absorbed community."[74] Economically, Carondelet had become a part of St. Louis, although it still had local stores handling food, drugs and clothing. The assimilation, however, was more than economic.

> *My age group, we always used to say we lived by Carondelet Park. That's the only way we knew we were in Carondelet. Or the Carondelet Y. Otherwise we would have never known we were in Carondelet. We always thought we were in the city.* (C-2)

The first Comprehensive Plan for the city of St. Louis was released in 1947. Included in the study was a large map suggesting proposed zoning districts, major street patterns, transit recommendations, and recreation proposals. Carondelet was subdivided into several small planning units. Most of the area between Broadway and the Mississippi, "Tesson," is labeled unrestricted industrial; a small, core section of two-family housing was to be located between Water and Van Buren, Catalan and Poepping. The rest of present-day Carondelet was divided into the following units: "Carondelet" – River des Peres to Schirmer, Broadway to Alabama; "Blow" – Schirmer to Holly Hills, Broadway to an irregular line along Colorado; "Woodward" – Holly Hills to to Bates, Broadway to Grand. Only in "Woodward" was any single-family housing proposed. (The easternmost part of "Loughborough," which extended into Carondelet, suggested single-family zoning.) The path proposed for an interstate highway ran south of Broadway along the riverfront, through Bellerive Park, and jogged west at Nagel, intersecting Grand at Primm. The actual path of I-55 took a different course and left scars on the face of the neighborhood.

. . . so many homes were taken for the highway and a lot of streets were made one-way streets and I remember hearing a lot about the problem of isolation and a lot of people were really afraid that their businesses would suffer because of the one-way streets and the dead-ends, it was impossible to go across to Grand–and it got so complicated– . . . the highway going through near the park . . . I had friends who lived right on the borderline of this. (C-10)

Some of the displacement was not unwelcome.

For one thing, the highway coming really took away a lot of the area. Back where the highway is, 55 right there, used to be hold sheds and garages. Colorado Avenue . . . a lot of the "hood" type kids . . . all these kids used to hang around . . . So a lot of those poor people were wiped out . . . it cut down a lot of the fights at Blow School . . .(C-2)

Some groups left the community; others arrived; and not all were welcome.

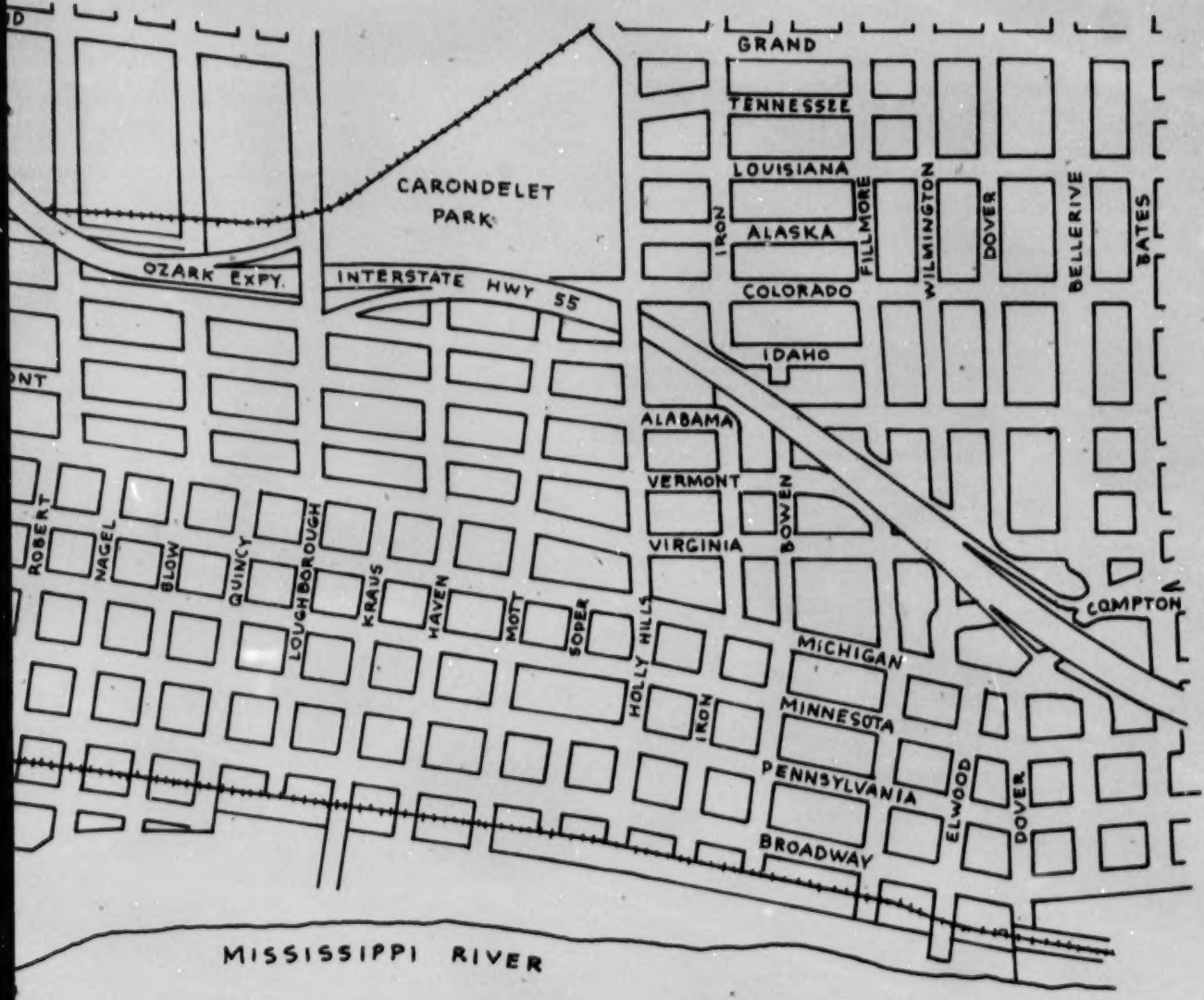
We've got a lot of "hoosiers" come up here in the last thirty-forty years. When they started making that highway they really started coming up . . . Give them another twenty-thirty years and give them education and they'll be all right. I think they've assimilized real good in ten years. (C-12)

Much work remains before there is a clear picture of the rural immigrant in St. Louis. Many of the group in Carondelet do not remain the entire year, but travel back and forth with the seasons or school year to their community of origin. Victims of "labeling," the rural migrant has few institutions to support and ease life in the city.

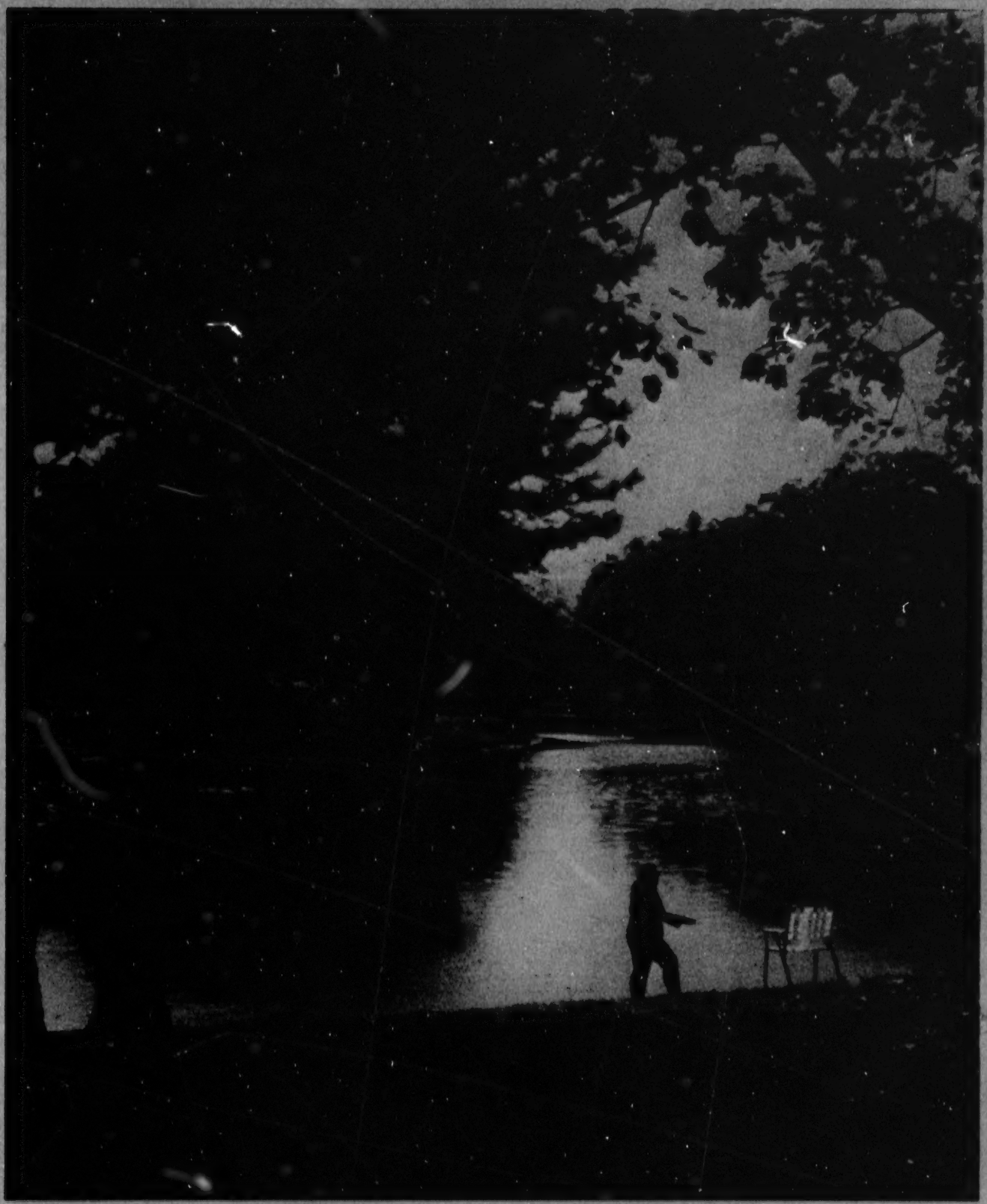
credit: **Community Development Agency Collection**

GERMANIA
TENNESSEE
ALASKA
IDAHO
ALABAMA
RIVER DES PERES
IVORY
VIRGINIA
HURCK
MICHIGAN
TESSON
PRIMM
COURTOIS
SCHIRMER
STEINS
KOELN
ESPENSCHIED
MINNESOTA
PENNSYLVANIA
BROADWAY
LORENTZ
CATALAN
MARCEAU
WATER
DAVIS
POE PKING
VULCAN
REILLY
POLK
HURCK
VAN BUREN

32



CARONDELET 1975



Carondelet Park—180 acres—established in 1874 credit: Community Development Agency Collection

34

today

Many Carondelet residents of the 1970's preserve a strong sense of the historic significance of the community, but their consciousness of ethnic identification is limited to memories of the church activities, traditional festivals, and the language of their parents and grandparents rather than an active involvement in ethnic organizational life. The Ecumenical Council of Churches, the YMCA, the Carondelet Historical Society, and the Carondelet Community Betterment Federation are examples of the organizations which dominate community life today. These groups have overlapping boards, whose members represent all ethnic and religious groups in the community.

The major concerns of all these groups include an aging population, decay of the housing stock, and a decline in the population. The decline in population in Carondelet between 1960 and 1970, caused in part by the placement of Interstate Highway 55 and the clearance of housing, is illustrated in the summary of population for Carondelet from 1930 to 1970 as compared to the population in the City of St. Louis.

The Carondelet Community Betterment Federation, now over 250 members strong, was founded in 1970. The CCBF, with fourteen board members assists residents with housing and sanitation problems, engages in beautification programs, and organizes active participation by concerned citizens to combat neighborhood decay. CCBF works effectively with the Manpower Program of the City of St. Louis. Three activities of special note are a secretarial training program, a tutorial training program, and a community housing survey. Along with the Ecumenical Council of Churches, CCBF sponsors the Carondelet Handyman Program. The opening of a neighborhood office at 6339 Michigan should further the success of the CCBF and neighborhood communication.

Since 1973 the Carondelet Community Corporation has sponsored the annual Carondelet Days Festival. This event has done much to develop community pride, a sense of place, and has brought many visitors to the area.

I think we get along real good and I think the biggest thing is when they started the Carondelet Festival three years ago. I think that did as much as anything to get them together. They have like a big circus there . . . all kinds of rides and games and all kinds of exhibits . . . you never saw such big crowds and everyone delightfully beered up; nobody was mean or anything. It was tremendous. (C-12)

They have Hill Day, and now we have Carondelet Day. Everybody's starting to really get into that, and identify with it. (C-2)

Carondelet residents lead the city in their participation in their participation in the Operation Ident Program. Block Watchers and the Carondelet Area Motor Patrol also volunteer to assist the police in further lowering the crime rate in the First District.

The Neighborhood Advisory Council is composed of neighborhood people who decide what needs the Patch Community Center will serve. Patch residents are also involved in issues of housing and recreational programs through the Neighborhood Development Program and the Neighborhood Recreational Program organized by the Patch Center. While the Consolidated Neighborhood Services, Inc., operates the administrative work of the Patch Center, decisions concerning the programs and activities of the Patch Center are made by the "body" of the Center, the neighborhood people. Volunteer service of neighborhood people sustains the Meals on Wheels program (now delivering meals to about 65 persons—an increase of 54 persons in an eight-month period), and the Family Care Center (which provides medical care for those who cannot provide for themselves.) The Mothers' Club is extremely effective in their dedicated fund raising for children in the pre-school program at the Patch Center. Through their efforts, the children are able to enjoy trips which otherwise could not be provided with the Center's funds.

The cooperation between principals, teachers, and the parents in the neighborhood has reduced high school drop-out figures in the Carondelet area. Many adults in the area take advantage of the evening courses offered at the Carondelet Community School and the Free Adult Education program at the Patch Center.

The major goal of the Carondelet Historical Society, organized six years ago, is to stimulate an appreciation of the architectural landmarks in the community. (The Historical Society grew out of plans of the Carondelet Women's Club.) Of the 414 members in the Society, 134 live in Carondelet (zip code 63111). Many who live in Holly Hills and St. Louis Hills, communities adjacent to Carondelet, have backgrounds in Carondelet.

Interest in the Historical Society has centered on the reconstruction of the Susan Blow Kindergarten. This year the Historical Society, working with the Betterment Federation, is gathering pictures and artifacts from the 1873 kindergarten to commemorate this historical opening in Carondelet.

The Carondelet Library, the oldest of the community centers in Carondelet, has a record of community involvement since its construction in 1908. (This Classic-Revival building was designated a City Landmark in 1969). Although the primary task of the library staff has been the circulation of 26,000 books, the Library is a community meeting place for many organizations, including the Historical Society, the CCBF, and the Carondelet Community Corporation.[76]

There has been a concerted effort to encourage younger families to take advantage of the modest housing rentals in the area. According to Leo Szymanski, Carondelet Community Betterment Federation member, this effort has met with success. Carondelet has not experienced the level of poverty and unemployment that has characterized other city neighborhoods; the percentage of families with incomes below the poverty level is 14 per cent and only 7 per cent in Carondelet.

> *While the percentage of Carondelet families receiving social security income is high, at 22.7 per cent, it is still less than the 26.4 per cent for the City. [The number of] public welfare recipients in Carondelet, 4.8 per cent of the families, is significantly lower than those receiving this assistance in the entire city, 10 per cent.*[75]

These facts suggest that Carondelet has not suffered as acutely from loss of population and increase in poverty and unemployment as has the city at large. Another critical dimension which adds stability in this community is the high number of owner-occupied housing units. In a city in which only 41 per cent of the housing units are owner-occupied, 50.4 per cent of the units in Carondelet are occupied by owners. Another concern, housing vacancy, is lower in Carondelet. As of the 1970 census, the vacancy rate was 6.4 per cent in Carondelet as compared with a city-wide vacancy rate of 9.6 per cent.

Eighty per cent of the housing units in the area were built before 1940. Census tract 1016 (bounded by River des Peres on the south, Broadway on the west, the Mississippi on the east, and Stein Street on the north) is the area with the greatest number of deteriorated dwelling units, the lowest income, the greatest number of substandard units, and fewest owner-occupied units. However, the number of new dwelling units built in Carondelet in the past ten years has increased considerably over the previous decade.

In contrast to the mobility patterns of mass American population, sixty per cent of the residents of Carondelet have lived at their present addresses for at least five years. The long length of residence, particularly of older residents who came to the community in the 1920s or earlier, has provided a core of interested participants for the community organizations.

Area churches have been an important link between home and neighborhood in Carondelet. Seven years ago, the Ecumenical Council of Churches was formed by fourteen area churches to utilize these strong ties and stimulate new community awareness. Since its founding, the Ecumenical Council has had great success linking families of the various churches in the community. Ecumenical services and dinners every fifth Sunday, a Christmas concert, and men's lenten breakfasts are well-attended. The increasing numbers in attendance at these affairs, in addition to their association with the Family Care Center, the Carondelet Community Betterment Federation, the Meals on Wheels program, the YMCA, and the Senior Citizen's Group, illustrates the significance of the Ecumenical Council.

A number of the active church members also serve as leaders or board members of the various community organizations. For example, many of the board members at the YMCA are active in their church and are leaders, committee members, or general members of many other community groups. Many such individuals have one stronghold and many side contacts. While these same few leaders are working with tremendous conviction to stop community decay and stimulate new awareness of community needs, the overlapping leadership does not totally account for the feeling of progress which they share.

credit: Charles Pacmentier

I don't think life has changed a whole lot down here. I think it's still kind of a slow, sleepy end of town–9:00 at night people start getting ready for bed, or 10:00. No night clubs, no carrying on–just a real quiet peaceful town, this part of town. Secondly, they're all too tight to go out and spend much money night clubbing . . . Everybody around here, if they want to go out for a big night, they go to one of the corner taverns on a Friday night or Saturday and drink some beer. Most of these corner taverns have a piano player or maybe two- or three-piece band. That's what I always loved to do. (C-12)

The following statement by Lenly Weathers, president of the Carondelet Community Betterment Federation, sets the tone for the future:

> *. . . Where do we go from here? To this end, we keep looking back over our shoulder, and try to build off of what has happened in the past history . . . trying principally to find ways to motivate people so they can become involved and to try to get these people to realize that they have a very strong stake in our society, and we hope that we can turn this rather old area (it is very old) around, because I think this is the same thing that is happening throughout the city of St. Louis today: the strong resurgence of city pride. I have nothing more to add to this.*[77]

credit: Charles Parmenter

credit: R. A. Faber

The research for this booklet was conducted by graduate and undergraduate students and community members under the sponsorship of the Social Science Institute at Washington University through a grant from the Division of International Education, the United States Office of Education, under the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act of 1974-75.

The purpose of the booklet is twofold: to train students to understand and use the wealth of cultural materials on this American urban neighborhood, Carondelet, and to provide a booklet for the use of students and community members about the historic life of this community. This is an ongoing study. It is the intention of the authors that additions will be made to this study as new information is collected.

The research was conducted through field methods, which include participant observation in the community, analysis of historical documents about the community, survey research conducted among a random sample of residents, open-ended interviews with community leaders, and the tape recording of oral histories of three generations of community residents.

Participant observation in the community was conducted by undergraduate and graduate students at Washington University, who attended community functions, visited community restaurants, mapped the paths of activity in the community, and catalogued the commercial and institutional life of the area by visiting every commercial and institutional setting as involves a constant interplay between the role of the observer and the activity of the participant. Students developed strong identifications with neighborhood residents although they were recognized as outsiders.

The analysis of historical documents included the use of census data from 1850 to 1970, the compilation of vital statistics from churches and institutions, the examination of written histories and letters, and the extensive use of newspapers. In each community, local newspapers and the publications of ethnic groups were valuable resources for the understanding of the ethnic heritage of the communities. In some cases, land use maps and city planning documents were important resources for the study of the community boundary designations and the property use changes in the communities.

Two types of interviewing were used in this study. The open-ended interview was used by students who talked to community leaders to gain a greater understanding of the issues which were important in the community over time. These interviews were conducted to give the respondent the greatest range of topics, so that the student could learn about the community without a preset conception. The second type of interview technique was the oral history. Oral histories were structured from an agenda of questions to gain information about the community in 1900, in 1920, and in 1950. Whenever possible, three generations in the same family were interviewed. Unlike newspaper and institutional documents, the oral histories were designed to record the daily life of the families who make up the community, not necessarily the leaders or prominent citizens. The oral histories were taped. Excerpts from them appear in the text of the booklet. They are coded with the designation of the tape, which is available from the Ethnic Heritage Data Bank at the St. Louis Public Library.

Through the use of various research methods, the students have compiled a picture of a community over time and the record of the ethnic heritage of the people who create the community. This is an ongoing history to be enriched by each additional contribution.

FOOTNOTES

The designations(C-1) through (C-14) refer to the oral history tapes which students recorded during the neighborhood study. C stands for Carondelet; the numbering system refers to the tape record which is available at the libraries of Washington University and the University of Missouri, St. Louis.

1. Quote of General Thomas Gage, 1769, "Impressions of the Inhabitants of Illinois County," in John Francis McDermott (ed.), *The French in the Mississippi Valley* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965) p. 86.
2. Tony Fusco, "Fusco's History of Old Carondelet," *A Pictorial Review of Old Carondelet*, 1973.
3. Charles E. Peterson, "Colonial St. Louis," *Bulletin*, Missouri Historical Society, April 1947, p. 105.
4. *Ibid*, p. 106.
5. *Ibid*, p. 105.
6. *History of Old Roads, Pioneer and Early Communities of St. Louis County*, St. Louis County Historical Society, Clayton, Missouri, p. 4.
7. McDermott, *op. cit.*, p. 100-101.
8. Leonard J. Groszek, "Revitalization Plan for Carondelet, Missouri," (unpublished Master's Thesis, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, 1974, p. 6)
9. Gregory M. Ranzwa, *The Story of Old Ste Genevieve*, (St. Louis, Mo.: Patrice Press, 1967) p. 64.
10. Delor Papers, privately owned.
11. Gustav Heinrichs, "Carondelet Formerly and Now," *Reflections of Carondelet*, trans. by M. Heinrichsmeyer (Southern Commercial and Savings Bank, 1966.)
12. William Barnaby Faherty, S.J., *Dream by the River*. (St. Louis, Mo.: Piraeus Publishers, 1971) p. 54.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
14. Sister Dolorita Marie Dougherty, C.S.J., *et al.*, Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet (St. Louis, Missouri: B. Herder Book Co., 1966)
15. Groszek, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
16. *Early County Roads*, p. 8.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
18. Delor papers, privately owned.
19. Groszek, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
20. Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
21. This structure is presently part of a particularly delightful and irrepressible center of conviviality – Fanetti's Tavern.
22. Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
23. Carolyn Toft, *et al.*, *Soulard: The Ethnic Heritage of an Urban Neighborhood* (Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.: Social Science Institute, Nov. 1975, p. 5.)
24. Judge Wilson Primm was baptized Jean Baptiste Prymm in deference to his mother's wishes, but "his father did not like the French name so gave him that of Wilson". (C-3)
25. Joseph Hanses, "Carondelet" (unpublished paper prepared for Heritage/St. Louis, 1975)
26. Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
27. Selwyn K. Troen, *The Public And the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975)
28. Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
29. For a larger discussion of the Turner movement in St. Louis, see *Soulard: The Ethnic Heritage of an Urban Neighborhood, op. cit.*
30. Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
32. Stuart A. Queen and David B. Carpenter, The American City (New York: McGraw Hill, 1953)
33. Margaret Sullivan, "Hyphenism in St. Louis, 1900-1921: The View From Outside," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1968, p. 27-32.)
34. *Ibid.*
35. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 14, 1911, p. 11.
36. Joe M. Richardson, "The American Missionary Association and Black Education in Civil War Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, July 1975:437.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 445.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*, p. 446.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 447.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
43. Troen, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
48. Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
49. Corinthian Baptist Church Records.
50. Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
51. National Register Forms, interview.
52. Tim Whalen, "Quinn Chapel entered into National Historic Registry", *Southside Journal*, Dec. 11, 1974.
53. (C-8)
54. Annual Report–St. Louis Public Schools for the year ending August 1, 1879, G. I. Jones and Co., St. Louis, Missouri, 1880.
55. Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
56. (C-11)
57. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, St. Louis: Blackwell Wielandy Press, 1928, p. 482.
58. (C-11)
59. &
60. The editor is heavily indebted to Margaret Sullivan for her generous assistance. Much of the material on the Irish will be available in her forthcoming publication, *Middle Class Ethnicity: The Germans and the Irish in St. Louis, 1900-1925.*

61. *St. Louis Development Program*, St. Louis City Plan Commission, St. Louis, Mo., June 1973, p. 38.
62. Daniel Rodrigues, "The Spanish Colony of St. Louis," Courtesy of the Carondelet Library.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
65. *Sunday Review*, Dec. 22, 1961.
66. 1920 report of the Executive Committee of the International Institute.
67. *Ibid.*
68. (C-2)
69. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Dec. 14, 1955, Southside Edition.
70. Gould's St. Louis Directory, 1905-1918.
71. Mary Gregory, Espanoles en Norte America—Cronica de San Luis, Mo. Files of Carondelet Library.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Hanses, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
74. Queen and Carpenter, *op. cit.*
75. Groszek, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
76. Much of the material in the preceding section was selected from an unpublished paper by Diane Koeln, "Community Services," Sociology 324, 1973-1974, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
77. "Transcript of Proceedings," Ethnic Heritage Studies Colloquium, Social Science Institute, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., 1975.

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ethnic heritage study council members

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